



THE STORY OF OUR COUNTRY

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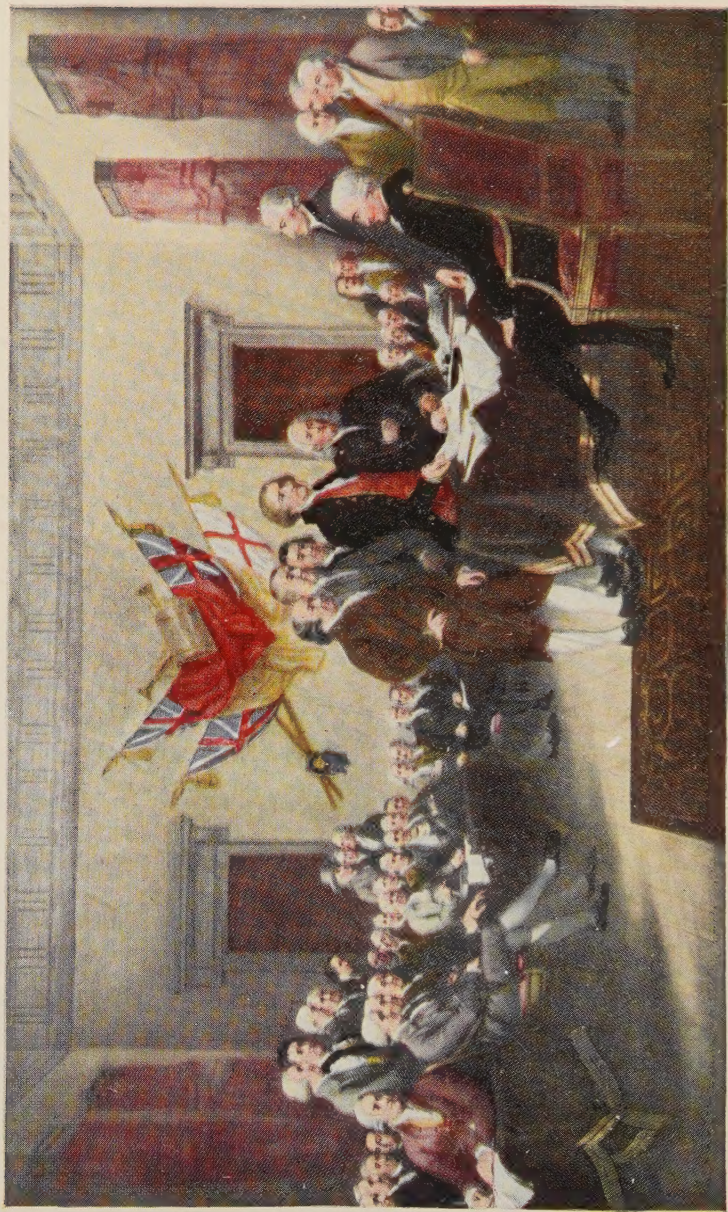
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Pearl C. Snyder

Skip Schroer

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

— From the opening statement of the
Declaration of Independence.



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

From the painting, by Trumbull, which hangs in the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

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BY

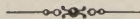
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BY RUTH WEST

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PREFACE

THIS is an elementary textbook. We have tried first of all to tell the story simply and clearly; and everything but truth has been sacrificed to this end. At frequent intervals the narrative has been made concrete by building it about some figure of heroic mold, — Columbus, Franklin, Boone, Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson. Above all, we have sought to fire the youthful imagination with a vivid sense of the abounding life and glowing idealism that have made America the lodestar of freedom for the world.

Though elementary in character, the book shows in clear relief the steady growth of democracy, the swift development of culture, and the industrial progress of the last hundred years. The romantic conquest of our great central valley and of the Pacific slope has been emphasized and brought into due proportion with the seventeenth-century settlement of the Atlantic fringe of the continent. In dealing with the relations between the United States and the outside world, especial attention is given to the leadership of America's great men in the mighty movement for world peace.

Teaching aids are provided plentifully, not only in the numerous "Suggestions and Projects," but also in queries and exercises distributed through the text. As a rule, these are planned not so much to test memory as to provoke thought, — to help the pupil associate new facts with his previous knowledge and with the life around him, and to aid him in forming the problem-solving habit, so essential to constructive citizenship. References are restricted to books within the range of pupils below high school age, and are adapted to the varying equipments of different libraries. No one class is expected to use them all.

The maps, graphs, and pictures are a special feature of the book, making up a third of its size. The illustrations have been chosen to emphasize or supplement some important passage in the text or to crystallize some vital impression; and so they ought materially to lighten the teacher's work. The authors are particularly pleased to be able to present the rare portrait of Washington that faces page 180 and an extremely significant photograph of Lincoln (facing page 374) that has become available for publication only during this year.

We wish to thank Mrs. Margaret Caratte, teacher of eighth grade history in the Hawthorne School in Spokane, for helpful criticism of the book after reading the proofs and using them in her classroom.

RUTH WEST

WILLIS MASON WEST

JANUARY 1, 1926.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MANY of the pictures are printed here for the first time. We wish especially to acknowledge our indebtedness to Mrs. A. F. Maxwell of Spokane for several photographs from the valuable unpublished collections of her father, Mr. Ben Wittick, who spent the twenty-five years preceding his death in studying Indian life in the Southwest.

We wish also to thank Mr. Thomas Teakle, of the Lewis and Clark High School in Spokane, for his help in securing pictures of the far Northwest.

The illustrations of Plymouth scenes and relics were furnished by A. S. Burbank; those of candle mold, flint-lock, and Dutch farm house are included through the courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

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AMERICA

O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain !
O beautiful for pilgrim feet,
Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness.
America ! America !
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law !

— KATHARINE LEE BATES.

Long as thine art shall love true love,
Long as thy science truth shall know,
Long as thy eagle harms no dove,
Long as thy law by law shall grow,
Long as thy god is God above,
Thy brother, every man below,
So long, dear land of all my love,
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow.

— SIDNEY LANIER.

America! *Your* America! In a few years *you* will have a share in determining what this country shall be for the future. You should know, then, what it has been and how it has come to be what it now is. You young Americans all like to salute the flag. That is well, even if you have no better reason than that it is your flag. But it is finer and better for you to love to salute it because you know with a joyous pride that it stands for freedom, for law, for fair opportunity in industry (and so for decent and happy homes), for goodwill to the peoples of other lands. To help you understand how this America of ours has come to stand for these glorious principles is the purpose of this book.

THE STORY OF OUR COUNTRY

CHAPTER I

THE RED MAN'S AMERICA

The Red Man's America of Four Hundred Years Ago
Was Not Like the America we Know

Indian Life and the Land.—You know the country for some miles around your homes. Have you ever tried to think how it looked four hundred years ago, before the white men came?

There were no towns then in all this land. Instead, a huge wilderness was thinly scattered with little clusters of Indian tepees. Great herds of elk and bison roamed over grassy plains, and bear and wolves hunted the deer through forests and swamps where mighty cities stand to-day.

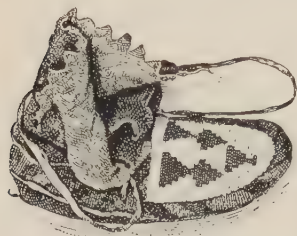
There were no farms that we should know as farms—no orchards or wide fields of grain, no great barns with tall silos, no horses, cows, or sheep. Near the Indian villages were little patches of corn, beans, and pumpkins; and the only domestic animals were a few wolflike dogs.

There were no railways, no bridges, no paved highways dotted with swiftly moving autos and loaded trucks, nor



AN INDIAN CANOE, — after the painting
“Dawn” by Eggleston.

even the rudest sort of wagon road. Instead, here and there, small numbers of dark-skinned hunters or painted warriors journeyed "Indian file" along narrow footpaths through the forests or over buffalo trails across the plains. On the lakes and rivers there were no steamers or launches or sailing vessels, but only occasional dugouts and canoes driven noiselessly by Indian paddlers.



A BLACKFOOT MOCCASIN.

There were no factories or mills or blast furnaces with high, smoke-hung chimneys. The Indians of each village supplied their necessities by the toil of their own hands. The men made bows from the toughest and most elastic wood they could find, and strung them with dried and twisted sinew. Eagerly they sought fit wood for arrow shafts. For arrow tips and spear-heads, and for hatchets, knives, rude hoes, and their few other tools, they used sometimes bone, but more commonly pieces of flint, which they shaped and sharpened skillfully by chipping off the edges with other stones.

The women ground the corn into meal in mortars hollowed out of stumps or stone, and made clothing from the skins of animals, sewing them together with



A NAVAJO WOMAN IN NATIVE COSTUME. The silver disks and chains, like the blankets and dress, are native work. — Photo by Ben Wittick in 1883.

sinews and tendons threaded through bone needles. In some parts of the continent the women even wove cloth on rude handlooms out of coarse twisted fiber of bark or hemp or (in the south) of cotton. Almost the only other manufactures were baskets woven of reeds and



INDIAN BASKETS. From a collection in the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Mass.



A YOUNG APACHE BRAVE playing on a native musical instrument. See also the Indian pots and basket. The cactus in the foreground suggests why the Indians of the Southwest needed good foot-gear and leggings. — Photo by Wittick.

grasses, and pots shaped from clay and hardened in fire. There were no stores and no money that we should recognize as money: in their simple trading, the Indians merely exchanged one article for another; or sometimes, in place of coins, they used colored beads (*wampum*) made from shells.

The Indian. — There were only about four hundred thousand people in all the territory of the present United States — fewer than live to-day in one city like New Orleans or Milwaukee. This small population, too, was broken up into hundreds of tribes, each made up of several villages. The tribes differed in language and in customs. It is not hard to understand why

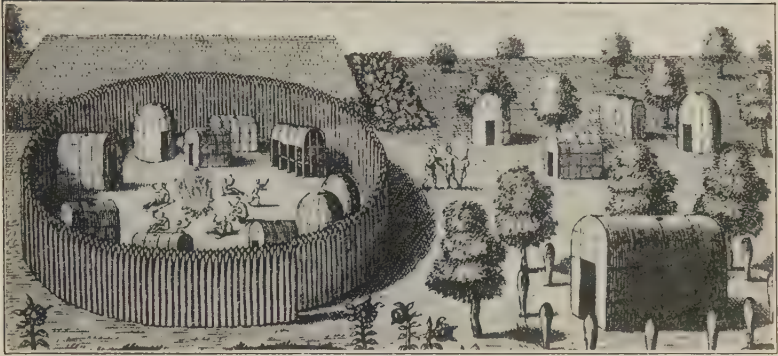
customs varied. The needs of the Indian depended largely upon the climate of the district where he lived ; and he had to meet them with the plants and animals at hand. In the forests of the north and east he lived in a wigwam of bent poles covered with bark ; on the western prairies, in a tepee of buffalo hide or in a sod hut ; amid the sunbaked stretches



NAVAJO WOMAN, IN NEW MEXICO, WEAVING IN THE OLD NATIVE WAY.—
Photo by Ben Wittick, in 1880.

of the southwest, in a house of straw or of stone put together with clay.

In spite of such differences, all Indians looked much alike to white men. They all had broad faces with prominent cheekbones and deepset eyes ; they were all dark-skinned, compared with Europeans, and they had straight black hair. They lived largely by fishing or hunting, though most of them had learned to make small plantings of a few food plants.



AN ALGONKIN VILLAGE IN VIRGINIA; based on a picture by John White (one of Raleigh's colonists) in 1585. The stockade must have been twelve feet high. Probably a spring of water was found inside. The fields of corn and tobacco in the rear were common property. Tribal dances were held within the circle of posts about the "lodge" in the foreground.



Courtesy of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

ENCAMPMENT OF BLACKFOOT INDIANS IN THE WIND RIVER MOUNTAINS IN 1870. Photo by W. H. Jackson. Some of the Indians wear the white man's blankets, but the tepees of buffalo skins, are just like those of four centuries earlier.



JEAN NICOLLET LANDING IN WISCONSIN IN 1634. A wall painting in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Assisted by some Canadian Indians, Nicolle paddled up the St. Lawrence and on into Lake Michigan. He had hoped to find people acquainted with China; and so he wore a gorgeous Chinese robe of damask embroidered with flowers and beasts. Instead, he found a band of savage Winnebagoes; and, to impress them with awe, he walked toward them, discharging his pistols into the air. The amazed savages named this first white man that they had seen, "The-wonderful-man-who-speaks-with-smoke-and-thunder."



Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

OJIBWAYS HARVESTING WILD RICE. — The Northern Woods Indians had little other agriculture than securing this crop which grew abundantly in marshy parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota Lakes — as it does still, to be harvested in the old way. These two squaws have been out day after day, *pushing* their canoe through the thick rice grass with the wooden fork you see. Now, one is treading out the kernels from a pile of heads that have been poured into a hole in the ground lined with clay. The other winnows the grain in a shallow basket. Notice the birch-bark wigwams.

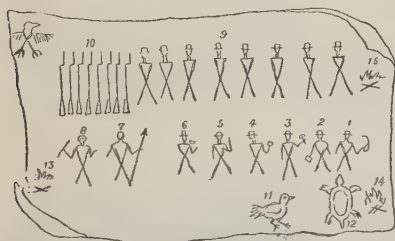
The Indian's Records. — About the campfires of every tribe the older men recited frequently its history, its sacred legends, its treaties with other tribes. Indian boys learned in this way, instead of from books or at school. There were no books and no real "letters." If an Indian wished to send a written message or to leave a record, he wove little pictures and signs with beads on a piece of skin (a "wampum belt") or painted such signs on bark or skins or rocks. Some of you may know of "painted rocks" in your own neighborhood where such records may still be seen.



THIS WAMPUM BELT was given by the Indians to William Penn (p. 106) to commemorate the treaty of peace he had made with them.

The Indian's Religion. — The Indian had no churches or temples, but he believed there were spirits all about him, — in winds, rain, sun, trees, and corn plant, in bear and beaver, and some that could neither be felt nor seen. All that happened to him, — good or bad fortune in the hunt, disease, drought, good or bad harvest, — was, he thought,

This is a good example of Indian writing on birchbark from Schoolcraft, a famous student of Indian customs. The message was as follows: Six white



officers (1 to 6) with swords, books, geologists' hammers, and surveying instruments, accompanied by two Indian guides (7 and 8) with bow and spear, and eight white soldiers (9 and 10), had camped in that place about three fires (13, 14, and 15). A turtle and a prairie chicken had been cooked there. The eagle in the upper left-hand corner indicates the American

government. The white men are shown by their hats. The message was written by one of the guides. (The numerals, of course, were added later.)

caused by some one or other of these spirits. So he tried to win their favor by many festivals and ceremonies.

In most tribes there were "medicine men" who were believed to have special influence with spirits. Each

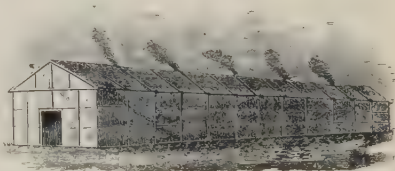


AN INDIAN CHIEFTAIN OF THE MIDDLE-WEST COUNTRY IN FULL DRESS. — A portrait by E. A. Burbank.

tribe and each family was thought to have a protecting spirit (*totem*) of its own, — often the ghost of a famous ancestor inhabiting the body of some animal; and an Indian of the Turtle totem or of the Bear totem took great care never to injure or offend his totem animal. Nearly all tribes believed that men had souls which lived on, after the body's death, in a world very like this one, but with unfailing abundance of game. Accordingly, weapons and ornaments and food for the journey

to the "Happy Hunting Grounds" were placed with the bodies of the dead.

The Wasting Indian Warfare. — To-day millions of men over vast areas live in peace and in helpful coöperation under one government. The Indians had not advanced far in this direction. They were only beginning to learn to unite their little tribes into larger groups for greater strength and safety. The greatest progress in this matter had been made by the Iroquois in the north-



A "LONG HOUSE" OF THE IROQUOIS, — the home of several families, each with its own fire.

east, who combined six strong tribes (the "Six Nations") into a powerful confederacy, and by the Aztecs of Mexico, who had organized a still larger and firmer union. But such confederacies were rare. *As a rule even neighboring tribes lived always in a state of war with each other;* and the hunter in the forest treated any stray hunter from another tribe as a deadly foe.

Within the village, however, all the members coöperated faithfully for the common safety and comfort. The men held sacred dances to win the goodwill of the spirits for the group, joined in councils for the common good, went forth on the warpath against the common foe, hunted and fished for the common use. The women tilled the cornfields, too, not for their separate families but rather for the common store. If there was plenty of food, all feasted: if food was scarce, all went hungry together. Land, too, was owned and farmed not by single families but by the group. This "tribal ownership" has always been hard for white people to understand.



A BLACKFOOT PAPOOSE, — a photo taken near Spokane in 1924.

We shall never know what the red man would finally have made of America if he had been left to himself, for the white man crossed the Atlantic and took the continent away from him. Many Indian tribes were wholly destroyed; but to-day there are still in the United States nearly as many Indians as there were when the whites first came. During

the long struggle, white man and Indian taught each other many things, and now they live together in peace. In 1924 *all* Indians within the boundaries of our forty-eight states were made *citizens*; but about half of the red men (185,000 in 1920) still live in tribes on reservations. They have found it hard to fit themselves to the white man's ways, and they have not always been treated with justice by their white brothers. *It is one of our national problems to see that they receive just treatment in the future.*



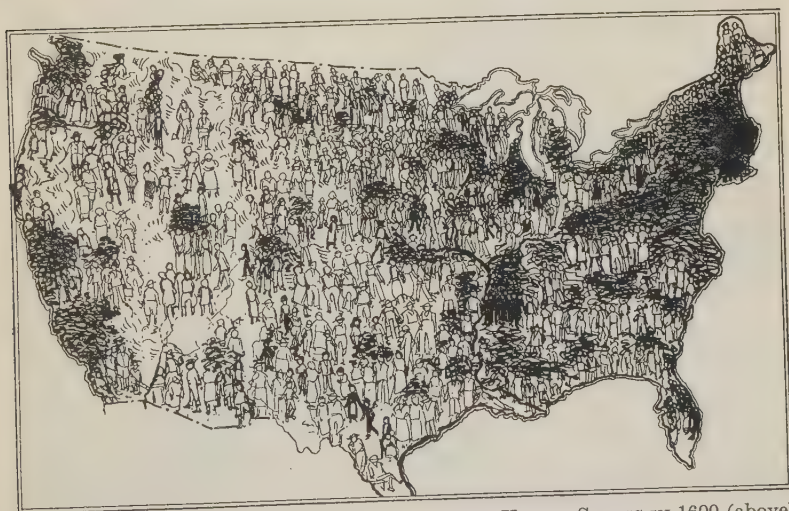
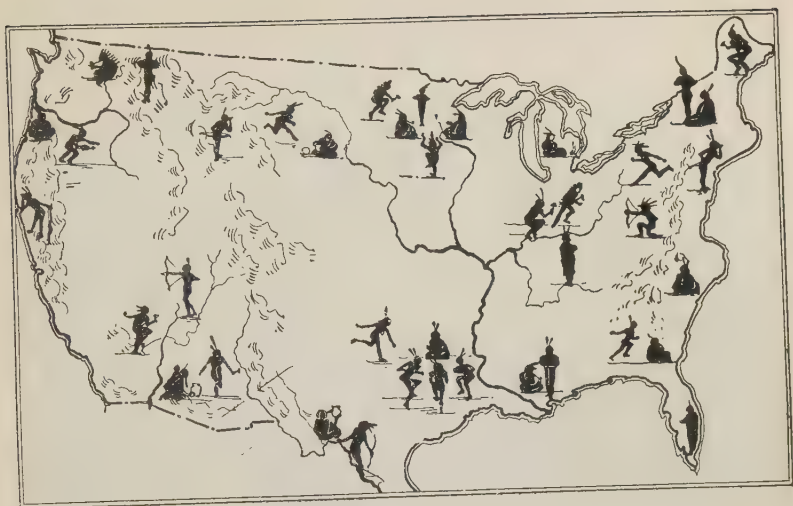
TOTEM POLE OF THE
HAIDA INDIANS (north-
west coast of America).
From the Peabody Mu-
seum.

FURTHER READING

You probably know books in your library in which you can read more of the interesting ways of the many Indian tribes. A few such books are named below: *Boys' Parkman* (edited by Hasbrouck), 1-25; Curtis, *Indian Days of the Long Ago*; Eastman, *Indian Child Life*; Gordy, *Stories of American Explorers*; Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*; Starr, *American Indians*. Accounts of the Indians, written by some of the first white men to come to America, are given in Higginson's *American Explorers* and Hart's *Colonial Children*.

Good accounts of the Indians in America to-day are to be found in: Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man in America*; Grinnell, *Indians of To-day*; Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*.

A few of the good stories based on Indian life are: Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*; Grinnell's *Jack* series, especially *Jack the Young Ranchman* and *Jack the Young Explorer*; Jackson's *Ramona*; Lange's *Silver Island of the Chippeways* and *Lost in the Fur Country*; Seton-Thompson's *Rolf of the Woods*.



POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY NOW CALLED THE UNITED STATES IN 1600 (above)
AND IN 1900 (below). Each figure represents about 10,000 people.



Above. — RUINS OF A YUCATAN "TEMPLE OF THE SUN." — Much like temples of the Aztecs of Mexico.

Below. — PUEBLO AT TAOS, NEW MEXICO. — The Pueblo Indians (of our far Southwest) built much more substantially than any tribes north of them.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Draw a line one inch long on the blackboard to represent the Indian population within our territory four hundred years ago; then draw beside it another line long enough to represent the 105,000,000 of our population in 1920. On this second line, mark off, or color red, that part which would stand for Indian blood to-day.

2. With the Indian way of living, North America did not have room for a much larger population than inhabited it four hundred years ago. Can you give some reasons why an immensely larger number of people can make a living in the same territory now?

3. About 12,000 Indians from the reservations enlisted in the World War. Let some member of your class report on their work.

4. If there is a reservation in your own State, find out what you can about it.

5. You know that Longfellow's *Hiawatha* is made up mainly of Indian legends. Other American writers have drawn largely upon Indian life and character for their materials;

perhaps you can name some such writers and their books. Our artists, too, have found the Indian an interesting subject for their paintings; our musicians sometimes use Indian themes in their compositions; and our decorative art often borrows Indian schemes of decoration. These last facts you perhaps have not much knowledge of yet; but you might *make as long a list as you can now of the things the Indians taught the white man*. After you have read further, you should be able to add to that list.



Courtesy of Eastman Kodak Co.

STATUE (Minnehaha Park, Minneapolis)
OF HIAWATHA AND MINNEHAHA.

*"Over wide and rushing rivers
In his arms he bore the maiden."*

6. We learn about the Indian of four centuries ago in three principal ways: first from accounts by the early white explorers; second, from relics such as pieces of pottery and flint tools made by Indians of that day; third, from observing the customs of Indians of our own times, many of which have been preserved unchanged for long periods. If your town does not have a *historical museum*, your school might be able to start one, beginning with Indian relics from the neighborhood. Perhaps, too, your class might work up a *history of the Indian tribes that lived in your part of the country*.



A FAMILY PARTY. — Photo by Palmer of Spokane.
These Indians seem to like some of the white man's ways.

Some points are indicated by the questions below; you will think of others; and your State and County Historical Societies will be able to give you suggestions as to where to find answers.

What tribes lived in your locality? What kind of houses did they build? Of what did they make their clothing and their tools? What was their chief food supply? What is the story of their relations with the white man? Are there any places in the neighborhood that were important in Indian times, such as trails, village sites, burial grounds, battle grounds, or treaty sites? Are there survivors of these tribes, and where are they?



EGYPTIAN HOE AND PLOW — developed from the hoe by adding handles and lengthening the beam. These pictures come from Egyptian carvings about 5000 years old.

CHAPTER II

THE WHITE MAN IN THE OLD WORLD

The America of which we have been reading is what white men found when they came to the New World four hundred years ago. The Indians had been learning a few things which made life more comfortable than the life of the lowest savages: that is, they were advancing slowly toward what we call *civilization*. But, thousands of years earlier, Europeans had learned these things, and much more, from other peoples farther to the East, and had reached a much higher civilization.

Our history really begins with these Europeans, who transplanted themselves to America. We are descended from them, and our ways are developed from theirs. In this chapter we are to study briefly what they had learned in the Old World up to four hundred years ago, so that we may know how they happened to find America, and what they began with when they came here.

I

Old-World Civilization had been Advancing for Thousands of Years

Early Oriental (Eastern) Civilization. — Five thousand years ago, the peoples living in fertile river valleys of north-eastern Africa and of western Asia had learned many things that the American Indians of only four hundred years ago did not know. *The Egyptians* of that early time in the Nile valley did not yet use iron or steel, but they had laid aside

their stone tools for bronze instruments, made by mixing melted copper and tin. Bronze tools could be made in any desired shape (while the metal was hot), and they could be given a sharper edge than any stone tool. They also kept the edge better. Accordingly, the Egyptians could do many things never possible to men before.



STONE-AGE
AXE.

They constructed great irrigation systems for their farming, similar to those used in the western United States to-day, and their barnyards showed most of the domestic animals that we know. They built mighty temples and palaces of stone.

They wove linens almost as fine as silk. They made beautiful bowls and vases and other pottery, sometimes almost as delicate as porcelain, shaped not by hand but by the potter's wheel, — an Egyptian invention which we still use much in their way.

The Egyptians did not invent a true alphabet, but they had a system of picture writing much better than that of the North American Indians. They wrote "books" on many subjects, using a sort of paper made by pressing the stems of the papyrus reed into flat sheets, as we press wood pulp into paper to-day. They had built up a strong government, too, that ruled over the whole valley of the Nile with its hundreds of thousands of people. But the mass of the people lived almost as slaves, toiling to support the monarch and a few nobles and priests.

Over in Asia, eight hundred miles from Egypt and beyond the Arabian desert, there was another early bronze civilization, as old as the Egyptian, and much like it. This was the civilization of the ancient Chaldeans in the valley of the Euphrates River, with its center at mighty Babylon.



BRONZE-AGE
AXE.

Babylonian scholars studied the movements of the stars



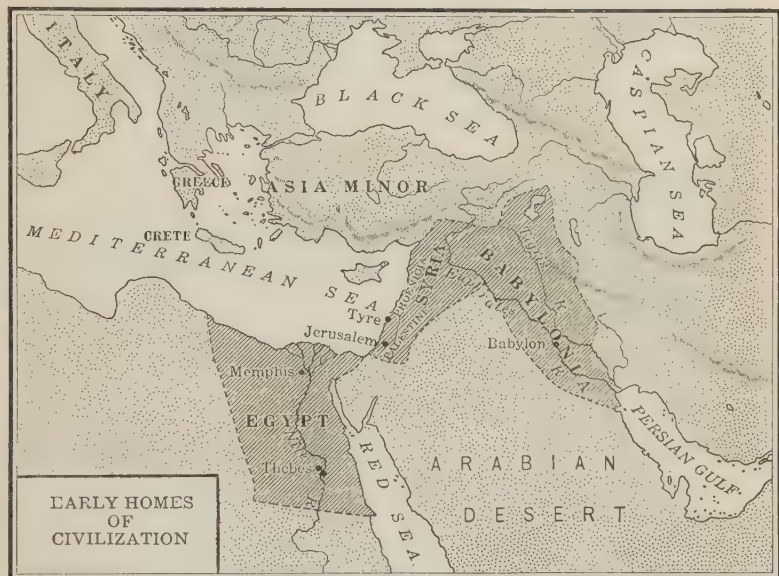
RUINS OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE. Only part of one hall is shown here, out of a maze of halls and courts that formed the building. This one hall had 134 columns in 16 rows. The "capitals" do not show clearly in this cut, but many of them are exceedingly beautiful, shaped like vast inverted bells and ornamented with carvings of the lotus flower. A full company of soldiers might stand upon one of them. The obelisk in the background was carved from a single block of stone. You can estimate roughly the size of the columns, and of the carvings on them, by comparing them with the human figure in the background.



Above. — YOUNG ATHENIAN HORSEMEN sculptured in the frieze of the Parthenon, the chief temple in the picture below. These figures are now in the British Museum at London.

Below. — THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS, — the center of the architectural splendor of Greece in the day of her greatest glory. This picture is made to show how the Acropolis looked in that day. Now the temples are in ruins.

and even knew how to foretell eclipses. They invented a system of weights and measures, much like ours, and a method of counting by twelves and sixties, as we count by tens and hundreds. Our "dozen" is one of their units. The Egyptians discovered that the year contained $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; but it was the Babylonians who gave us the division of the day into hours, minutes, and seconds, and the sundial to



measure time. One of their inventions was the wheel, which made it easier to carry burdens.

In their religion, Egyptians and Chaldeans worshiped idols and multitudes of spirits; but, about four thousand years ago, *Abraham*, in western Asia, founded the *Hebrew race*, and began the worship of one God "not made with hands." This noble idea did not spread to other peoples, however, till the time of Christ, two thousand years later.

Oriental civilization carried to Europe by Phoenician traders.—Egyptians and Chaldeans at first knew little of

any world outside their own river valleys. Gradually, however, their traders ventured farther from home and into neighboring lands. As they overcame the fear of the sea, their frail boats skirted the shores of the Mediterranean as far as southern Europe. There they found less civilized peoples, who soon learned to use their bronze tools and adopted many of their customs.

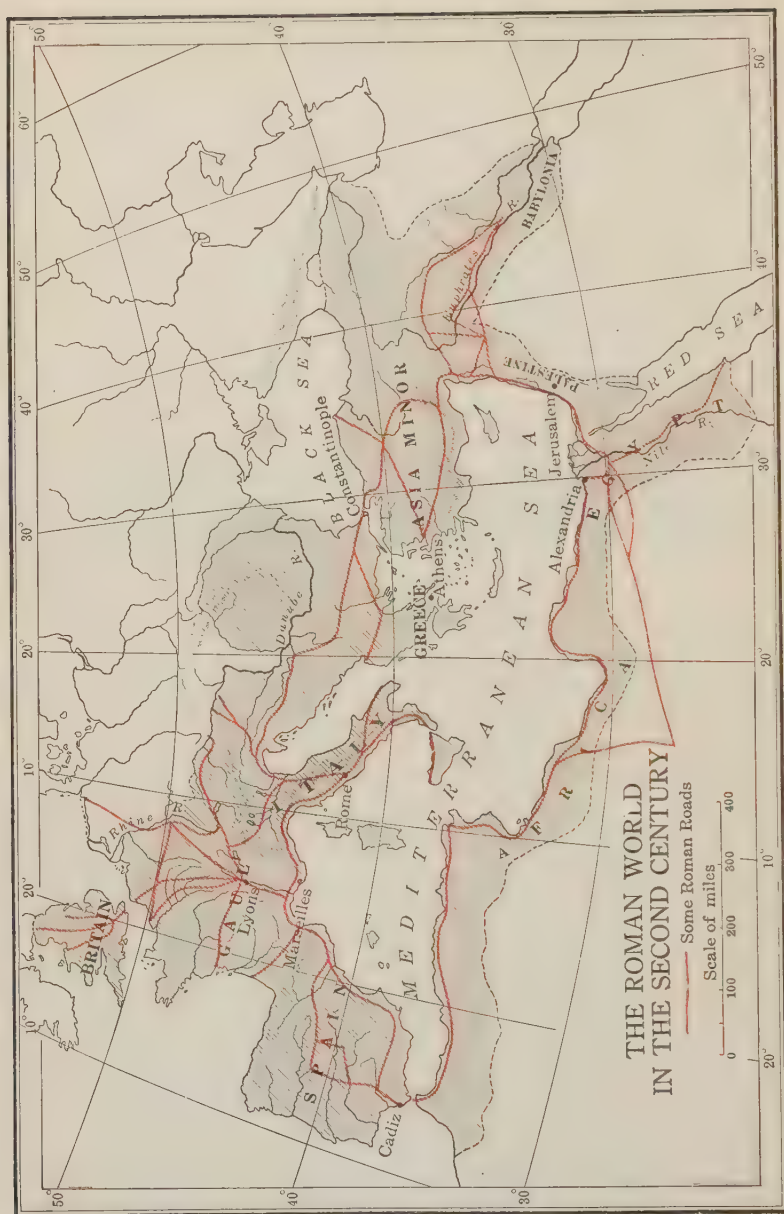
The Asiatic people who did most in carrying civilization to the shores of Europe were the *Phoenicians*, from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. Those dark-browed sailors and traders ventured even beyond the Mediterranean, along the



A BRONZE DAGGER with gold inlay, made about 2500 B.C. in ancient Greece.

Atlantic coasts of Europe, and set up scattered trading stations and colonies there. Phoenician merchants found the old systems of picture writing too clumsy for their business, and so, about three thousand years ago, they came to invent a true *alphabet*. About that same time, too, some Oriental nation learned how to replace bronze tools with still better tools of *iron*, the use of which now spread through all the Mediterranean world.

Then, for eight centuries, the chief home of civilization was in Greece. The Greeks were an active, energetic people. They loved beauty and liberty, and they made amazing progress in knowledge. *They developed a civilization much more like our own than the Oriental civilization had been.* We might say that the gifts of the Orientals to us were for the most part outside things, things that had to do with our bodies or our handiwork; but the gifts of the Greeks had to do with our



mind and spirit. The art and literature in which the Greeks expressed their noble ideas are still an inspiration to us. Above all, they gave us the ideal of freedom combined with *self-control*, — freedom in thought, in religion, in politics.

The Romans, whose home at first was only a small part of Italy, **next became the leading people**. They were great warriors. They conquered the parts of Europe known to-day as Spain, France, and Britain ; and the Roman language and civilization was adopted by the peoples they overcame. They also conquered the Greeks and the Oriental lands of which we have spoken, and so united all the Mediterranean lands under one rule with one civilization — a mixture of all that had gone before. They built splendid systems of roads connecting even the most distant part of the empire with Rome. They made just laws, and developed new forms of government, so that they were able to rule over all this vast empire for six hundred years. During this time, Christ was born ; and before the end of the period, *the Christian religion* was accepted by all the vast Roman Empire.

But as the Roman Empire grew larger, it came to depend more and more upon its army. The government grew despotic, and left the people little freedom. The wealth, too, came into the hands of a small body of the citizens, while the masses grew poorer and poorer.

At the same time, danger from the outside threatened the weakening Empire. Roaming through the forests of northern Europe were warlike German tribes, not much more civilized than the Indians we have told about — except for their weapons of iron. About four hundred years after Christ, the western half of the Empire gave way altogether before the invasion of these barbarians, who came swooping down from the north.

The name *Dark Ages* is given to the next six hundred years. The old Roman world in western Europe became a

scene of violence and destruction. For a time most of the old civilization seemed lost.

But in the end not much was really destroyed. The barbarian conquerors mixed with the peoples among whom they had settled. Gradually they adopted such parts of the old civilization as survived the disorder and ruin of the invasions. Missionaries of the Christian church converted the newcomers to their religion, taught them much of the old learning, and showed them better ways of living. The Germans, too, contributed some important ideas of their own. **Out of this mixture of peoples and of ideas a new civilization grew up**, and the Germans carried it to parts of northern and eastern Europe, beyond the regions reached by the Romans.

FURTHER READING

The best story of this growth of European civilization for young people is to be found in Van Loon's *Story of Mankind*. Other stories of the beginning of our history in Europe are: West, *Old World Foundations for Our History*; Beard and Bagley, *Our Old World Background*; Harding, *Old World Background to American History*. A splendid account of how men's knowledge of the world has grown is given in Synge, *Book of Discovery*.

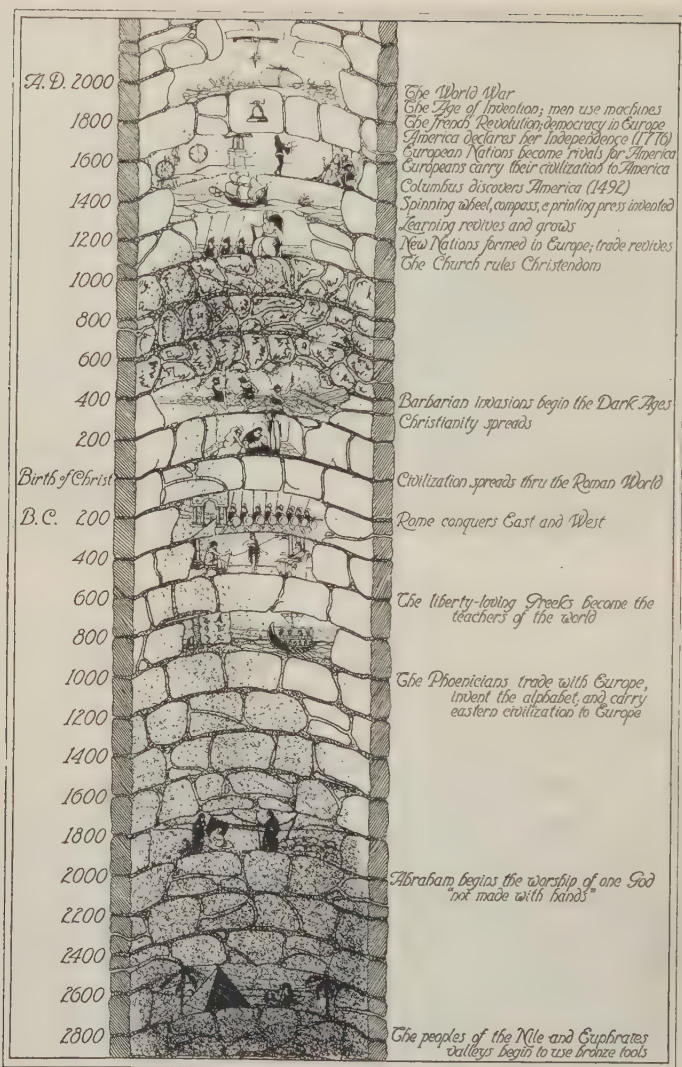
SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. We count time from the birth of Christ. Any date before that event is marked B.C.; any date after it, A.D. (These last two letters stand for two Latin words meaning "in the year of our Lord.") Each hundred years is called a century, and centuries are numbered just as you number the years of your life. You were not *one year old* until you *completed* your first year. If you were twelve years old at your last birthday, you are now in your thirteenth year, which you will finish on your next birthday. The like is true of centuries: the first century was completed at the close of the year 100; the thirteenth, at the close of the year 1300; 75 A.D. is a date in the first century after the birth of Christ;



Above. — THE COURT OF A ROMAN HOUSE. — The Romans and Greeks built their better houses *around* an open space (*court*), which was the chief "living room."

Below. — A ROMAN AQUEDUCT near Nîmes in France. The top row of arches carries water pipes large enough for a man to walk through. They remained in use until quite recent times, bringing water to the city of Nîmes from distant hills.



THIS DRAWING OF A WELL may represent part of man's climb upward from darkness and barbarism toward the light of civilization. The artist has let each stone stand for 200 years. At that rate it was possible on one page to go back only some 5000 years. Read the headings from the bottom up, and note where the story of America begins. How high do you suppose the plane at the top may soar?

1215 A.D. is a date in the thirteenth century. In what century is each of the following dates: 1386, 1453, 1588, 1607, 1924?

2. A *time line* is very convenient in the study of history. Draw a line on the board fifty inches long, so that there will be an inch for each century from 3000 B.C. to 2000 A.D. Divide the line into equal parts each representing a thousand years. Now indicate at the proper points the following events: the birth of Christ; the founding of the Hebrew race; the invention of the alphabet. Mark the period of the Roman Empire and that of the Dark Ages. Mark the year of the discovery of America and the year when the United States became an independent country, if you know these dates. In what century did each of the events named in this paragraph occur? Indicate on your time line, as nearly as you can, the point that represents the year in which we now are. Does this line give you a different idea than you have had before as to the length of time covered by our country's history?

II

It was the new Europe, formed by the mingling of Roman and German, that discovered America in the fifteenth century. To understand *why* this happened, we need to know more about the life of the European people during the thousand years before that time — *and especially about their growing interest in trade with distant lands.*

During the Dark Ages all Europe was in disorder and confusion. The trade which had flourished during the peaceful period of the Roman Empire almost ceased. Cities were deserted. Even the splendid Roman roads fell into decay. People lived in little village groups, and rarely saw anyone



KNIGHT IN ARMOR.

from the world outside — unless their village happened to be raided by a band of robbers or by a hostile army.

These small groups were ruled by the nobles, who owned the land round about. The nobles were powerful men who had built themselves strong castles of stone, garrisoned by iron-clad men. They loved fighting, and spent most of their time making war on each other. When there was no



AN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CASTLE, as it is to-day. Note the water in the moat around the walls.

real war going on, they amused themselves by hunting and by holding mock fights, or tournaments. Their life would not seem very attractive to us. It was rare to find a noble who could read or write. Their stately castles, on closer acquaintance, were nothing but damp and dingy fortresses, with fewer comforts than are found in the poorest homes to-day.

The only men who stood for peace in these troubled times were the bishops, priests, and monks of the Christian church. They helped the poor and suffering, and tried to preserve the

learning of the past. For centuries what little advance was made came through the church.

The nobles and churchmen were supported by the labor of the great mass of the people. These people were farmers, but very unlike any farmers we know about. We usually call them *peasants*. They did not live on separate farms. Instead they dwelt in little villages, with the farm lands stretching round about. The lords owned the villages as well as all the land. Each peasant worked two or three



A MONK WRITING A BOOK.

days of the week, under an overseer, to raise crops for his lord. The rest of the time he was free to work the small strips of land allotted to him for the support of himself and his family. But even from the scanty crops he could raise in this way, he had to pay a part to his lord. In return, the lord gave the villagers protection in times of danger.

The peasants produced *within their own village nearly everything they had to use*. Their food was extremely simple. They had few fruits or vegetables, but lived mainly on salt meat, black barley bread, and porridge ("pease porridge in the pot, nine days old"), with honey for their only sweet. Their clothes were made from leather or were spun and woven by the women of the village from the wool of their own sheep. The village smith made the few and clumsy tools. The house of a peasant was a one-room hut with a floor of packed earth and perhaps with a narrow window, covered with glazed skins, which let in a dim light on the rude wooden table and benches. The hut had no chimney: cooking was done outdoors, or, if within, upon an open hearth,

from which a part of the smoke could escape through a hole in the roof. The peasant's grain was ground into meal at the village mill, and his meal was baked into bread at the village oven — and each time he had to leave part of the grain and of the loaves as a toll for the lord, who owned mill and oven.

But between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries new European nations were being formed, which occupied much the same territory as the countries of Europe to-day. (Can you show on your time line when this happened?) Italians and Germans, to be sure, were still divided into many small



REAPING AND BINDING IN THE MIDDLE AGES — from a picture in a medieval book.

states; indeed neither of these two lands became united under one strong government until the middle of the nineteenth century. But France, England, Spain, Portugal, and the Scandinavian countries were ruled by powerful kings. These monarchs had built up firm governments and established order throughout their dominions, compelling even the most powerful lords to stop fighting among themselves and to obey the king's laws. (Map after p. 22.)

And when order was established, trade grew up again. Merchants were soon busied in bringing into Europe costly luxuries from the East, such as only the nobles or rich churchmen were able to buy: oriental tapestries and rugs for the walls and floors of gloomy palaces; jewels and

skilled metal work in silver, gold, and steel; fine cotton cloth and silks; and a great variety of new foods, such as lemons, rice, sugar, dates, apricots, oils, and spices.

The growth of trade brought money into use once more. Peasants then refused to work for their lords unless they were paid *wages in money*; and they began to pay for the use of their little fields in money rents instead of in labor. This gave them more liberty to work when and how they chose.

Except for this important change, the peasants' lives went on much as before — since the new imported articles were too costly for them to buy. But soon *the life of all except the peasants was greatly changed*. Many of the Eastern products came to seem necessities of life, and all well-to-do people wanted to buy them. The demand was so great that the men of western Europe began to try to make some of them.



MEDIEVAL THRESHING. The flail (here shown) and the reaping sickle were old Egyptian tools, and were not replaced by anything better, even in America, until about 1800 A.D.

Trade also built up towns once more. *Merchants* and *workmen* of all kinds were needed — workers in steel and gold, cloth weavers, leather workers, builders, and the like — and also *bankers* (or money lenders) and even *lawyers*. All these people found it convenient to live together in towns. They now formed a fourth class — along with the nobles, churchmen, and peasants. The bustling, energetic townsmen were much better off than the peasants of the villages, and were able to buy the new luxuries and comforts for themselves. This built up more trade, which in turn built new and larger towns.

Some of the desired Oriental products, however, could not be produced in even the awakening Europe, but **had still to be brought from Asia**. In particular this was the case with *spices*, which Europeans soon came to value chief of all articles of trade. Cloves, cinnamon, and pepper were used



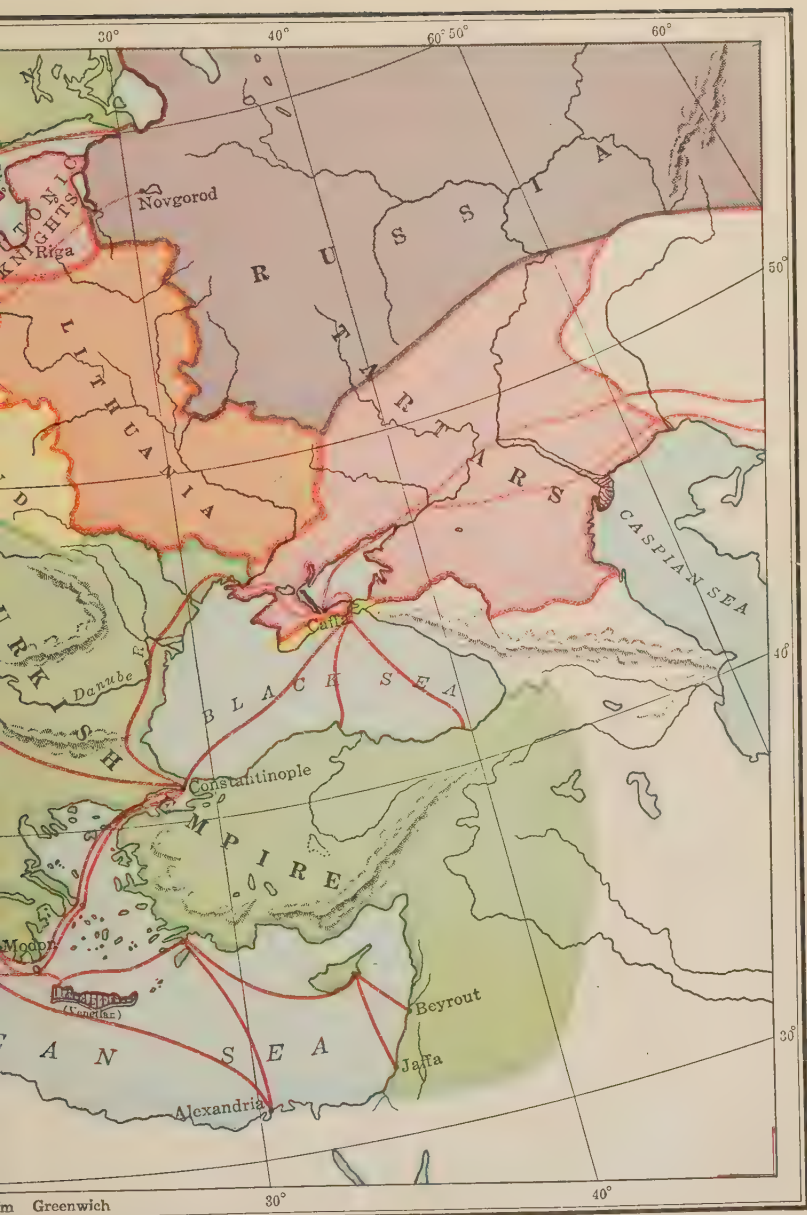
A PILGRIM to some holy place was one of the common figures of the Middle Ages, — barefoot, with staff (in the form of a cross) and a chain of "beads" by which to number his prayers. These pilgrims, or holy palmers, were one of the chief means of carrying news from place to place. They carried no money with them.

both to preserve foods, as we use them in pickling, and also to disguise strong tastes and odors of other foods which we should consider spoiled. You know there was no cold storage in those days. And so kings gave pepper to their favorites as the choicest of presents, and wealthy merchants left it to their friends in their wills.

But to obtain these goods from the East was difficult and dangerous. The merchants of northern Europe bought spices from the Italians; the Italians secured them from eastern merchants in Constantinople or in Egypt; and these merchants, in turn, had first to import them from India or even from the still more distant Cathay (China). Indeed the spices came, as they still do for the most part, from a group of islands in the ocean southeast of China.

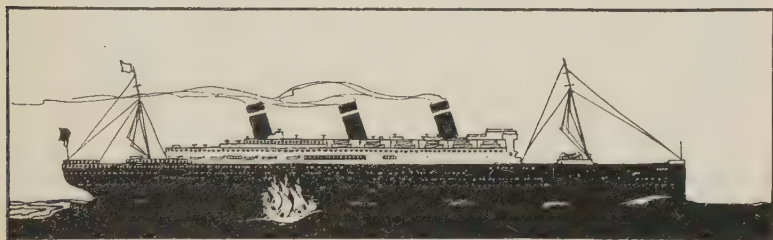
These long routes were beset with perils. Caravans crossing the eastern deserts were often attacked by hostile tribes; the Turks, through whose lands they had to come, exacted high tolls; the small and frail vessels of that day were lost in storms, or seized by pirates; and in many parts of Europe the traveling merchant was





likely to have his goods seized by some robber knight — lucky, indeed, if he were not himself thrown into a damp dungeon and forgotten there. Even the merchant who escaped all these dangers had still to pay high taxes and tolls at every step of the long journey. All this made Eastern goods extremely dear.

Accordingly, as the demand for Oriental products grew, it was natural that men should begin to look eagerly for safer and cheaper routes by which to get them. By now even the peasants had learned that there was considerably



A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY EXPLORER'S SHIP ALONGSIDE THE MODERN *LEVIATHAN*.

more of the world than they could see from the highest hill in the neighborhood. They were becoming interested in this world beyond the horizon. There was hardly a village that had not been visited by some merchant or traveling scholar with marvelous tales about other lands.

Men Wonder about the Shape of the Earth. — A few wise men, ever since the days of the Greeks, had believed that the world was round, and they gave the same reasons for thinking so that we find in our geographies to-day, — except that no one had actually gone around it. Indeed, no one had tried to do so.

Some thought that when ships got to the other side of the world, they would fall off. Others feared that after going "down hill" the first half of the way, a ship could never "climb up hill" again. Still others thought that on the

other side they would find themselves in a land of ice, or in boiling seas, or in a misty "Sea of Darkness," or in a region infested with horrible monsters.

It is no wonder that unknown seas were terrifying to sailors of that day. Their tiny ships were less than a hundredth as large as our ordinary passenger boats; and they had no way to tell directions except by sun or stars. But, about the middle of the fifteenth century, **an instrument was invented with which men at last learned to make long voyages out of sight of land.** This was the magnetic needle, or *mariner's compass*, which had been introduced into Europe from China. At first, most European mariners feared to use it lest it should prove a device of the devil to deceive them; but gradually this indispensable invention came into general use. (Can you explain the use of the compass?)

Indirectly, another invention played a big part in the discovery of America. About the middle of the fifteenth century, a German named John Gutenberg invented *the printing press*. The old way of copying by hand had been so slow that books had been extremely few; but now they became more numerous and much cheaper. Knowledge of new inventions and discoveries spread rapidly to all parts of Europe. Stories of travel became especially popular; and this helped arouse interest in finding better trade routes — about which men had now begun to talk.

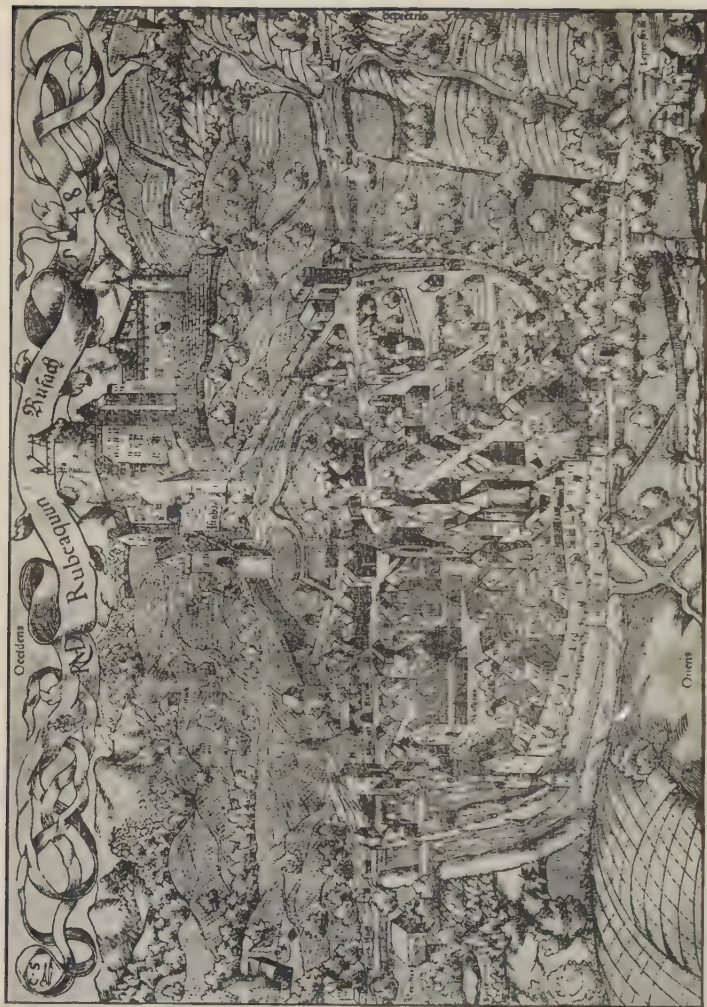
You can see by looking at the map after p. 22 that the Italian cities had been especially well placed for carrying on the Eastern trade by the *old* routes. Indeed that trade had been largely controlled by them. But the countries on the Atlantic had good ports too, which for centuries had sent out fishing and trading fleets along the coasts and even as far as Iceland. These countries became tired of paying the high prices for articles purchased through the Italian merchants.



CAXTON, the first English printer, reading the first proof sheet from his printing press in Westminster Abbey (1474). A workman on his left holds the "form" of type from which the sheet has just been lifted. Behind him is the "press," worked by a screw, to press the paper upon the type.



HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS AT YPRES. — Begun in 1200; see after p. 502.



A MEDIEVAL TOWN. — From a wood cut of 1548 (four times this size) in an old German book (Münster's *Cosmographie*). Note the tall gates in the city walls, the castle, church, town hall, the town's fields outside (in narrow strips), and the pest house, or leper's home, cut off from the town by the river.

In Spain and Portugal, the monarchs had just finished driving back to Africa the Moors who had invaded the peninsula eight centuries earlier. They now needed another outlet for their energy. How could they better add to their wealth than by finding some *new* way to reach the Indies and Cathay? What if the wild theory of a direct ocean route thither should prove to be true? The first country to find it would be able to establish a *monopoly*, — allowing no other country to use it, or else charging well for the right, as Venice and Genoa had been doing in the Mediterranean. **Thus the rulers of western Europe became rivals for trade routes, a rivalry that has continued to this day.**

See how many conditions combined to make the fifteenth century favorable to explorations: an increasing demand for spices and other goods that could be obtained only in the East; the difficulty of reaching the East by the old routes; an awakened interest in the world; a growing knowledge of science, with inventions that made navigation easier; and a group of new kingdoms, each zealous to become richer and more powerful than its neighbors. **Only one thing was lacking — *the man* with sufficient courage and devotion to risk everything in order to test out the theories and find the new route.**

“What if wise men, as far back as Ptolemy,
Judged that the earth like an orange was round;
None of them said, come along, follow me,
Sail to the West, and the East will be found.”

FURTHER READING

The *life of peasants and nobles* is well described in the books referred to at the close of the last section, and also in West, *World Progress*, pp. 269–279. A good account of *the trade with the East* may be found in Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, pp. 9–19. *Early ideas of geography* are explained

briefly in West, *World Progress*, pp. 325-326; and very fully, with interesting illustrations, in Synge, *Book of Discovery*.

Good stories of the time are: Mark Twain, *Prince and Pauper*; Frank Stockton, *Story of Viteau*; Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Black Arrow*; Conan Doyle, *The White Company*; Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*. Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* shows how uncomfortable life in a castle would be for us, and how absurd the ideas and ways of the castle dwellers would seem.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. List the things you notice about the life of the peasant which differ from the life of an American farmer to-day.
2. Do you think the peasant was better off before or after he began to pay money rents and receive money wages?



AN ENGLISH REAPER'S CART of six hundred years ago, as pictured in a book of the fourteenth century. The steepness of the hill is of course exaggerated, to fit the space on the page; but the number of horses and men show how bad roads were.

3. Do you think the spice trade is more or less important to-day than in the fifteenth century? Why? What imported articles would we miss most to-day?
4. Name all the means we have to-day of getting news quickly from one place to another. How many of these did the men of the fifteenth century have?
5. List the reasons why peace is good for trade.



MAGELLAN'S SHIP, THE *VICTORY*.

The winged figurehead is an imitation of the Greek statues of *Victory*. In the old Spanish print from which this picture comes, there are Latin words running around it, meaning, "I am the first ship that sailed around the globe. So I was rightly named."

CHAPTER III

THE WHITE MAN FINDS AMERICA

The Search for a Route to India and Cathay Leads
Daring Explorers to Discover a New World

I. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

And now came the man to say "Follow me." Christopher Columbus was born a little before the middle of the fifteenth century in the town of Genoa, in Italy. His father was a wool-comber, and he himself was brought up to be a weaver ; but from his earliest boyhood his great delight was in the sea. Genoa was one of the centers of the Mediterranean trade, and no doubt the young Columbus, haunting the wharves after hours and on holidays, saw rich cargoes of silks and spices unloaded there, picked up strange tales of distant places and peoples, and thrilled at the sight of the great sails swelling to the breeze as the ships left port. As soon as he became his own master, he gave himself to a sea life.

On a voyage to England he was shipwrecked. Saved, as he says, by a "miracle," he found himself on the coast of Portugal. Portugal was already seeking a route to the East around Africa. Its sailors were the leading navigators of

the fifteenth century, and their ships were the finest afloat. Prince Henry, called "The Navigator," had done everything in his power to encourage exploration. He had sought over Europe for men skilled in map-making and in navigation to instruct his sailors, and he had furnished money to pay for many voyages of discovery down the west coast of Africa. Columbus found Portuguese sailors who had gone far down that coast, even past the equator, — a feat which had long been considered impossible ; and, in the libraries of Portuguese scholars, he had access to the best books of the day on geography and travel. Some of the books he used are still preserved in a great library in Seville, with notes in the margin in Columbus' own hand.

The Portuguese were possessed by one great idea — that India might be reached by sailing around Africa. **But Columbus adopted a still more daring theory.** In a famous book written two centuries before by the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, he read that a great sea washed the shores of Cathay (p. 22) — Cathay, with its stores of gold and jewels, its rich cities, and its huge fleets for trading with the "twelve thousand seven hundred islands" to the east and south.

Must it not be true, thought Columbus, that this great *eastern* sea and the sea that washed the shores of Europe *on the west* were the same? *Could not one reach Cathay by sailing straight west from Europe?* Sailors whom storms had driven to the west brought back reports that banks of mist and masses of floating weeds blocked the way. But suppose one were to press on through these dangers, — who could say what vast wealth, what new knowledge, such a voyage might bring?

A great difficulty had first to be overcome: Columbus was willing and glad to risk all he had, himself included ; but *it would take a fortune* (which he did not have) to provide the needed ships and equipment. He first suggested his plan to the king of Portugal. But that monarch was

more interested in his African route. The rulers of Spain also proved unwilling to spend money on such a risk. Columbus then sent his brother Bartholomew to the court of England, but still without success.

Poverty-stricken and without friends, Columbus still believed that he had been called by God to perform this great



COLUMBUS BEFORE THE SPANISH COURT.

work. During years of waiting and discouragement, his tall, erect figure became a familiar one about the wharves of Palos, as he questioned sailors from newly arrived boats as to anything they had seen or heard which might help prove his theory. His clear gray eyes, it was said, seemed always to see some distant vision beyond the horizon.

Finally Columbus made up his mind that it was no use hoping for help from the court of Spain, and he started northward to try the king of France. But at the last moment two Spanish friars, with whom he had often talked,

persuaded Queen Isabella that the venture was worth while. She decided to raise money for the voyage by pawning her jewels; and messengers were hurried after Columbus to bring him back. **At last he was to be given the opportunity for which he had waited fifteen years.**

This was in January, 1492. It was hard to find sailors bold enough to venture forth upon "the Sea of Darkness." But finally, on the third of August at sunrise, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina* set sail from Palos.

The long voyage furnished the supreme test of Columbus' character. Once out of sight of land, the crews began to have qualms. How could they ever sail back against the steady wind which was driving them on into the west? Plots grew up to throw the Admiral overboard and to put about for Spain. Daily the men besought the resolute Columbus to turn back. But convinced of the truth of his cause, he had but one answer for all their beseechings and their threats. He "encouraged them as best he could," writes his friend Las Casas, the historian, "giving them hopes of the profits they might have; and he added that it was useless to murmur, because he had come in search of the Indies and was going to continue until he found them, with God's help."

So for ten long weeks they continued on their voyage. Rewards had been offered to the first man who should see land, and several times over-anxious sailors believed they detected it on the horizon. Each time, as they approached, the vision dissolved before their disappointed eyes into banks of clouds. Floating branches appeared, and land birds that are never found far out at sea,—but still no land. Even the needle of the compass wavered from its accustomed direction. (Can you explain why?) Their one guide seemed to have failed them, and, in spite of Columbus' attempts at explanation, the sailors were panic-stricken.



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THE CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS.

“Those who have returned from an attempt to circumnavigate the earth do not say they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, — for the sea remained perfectly open, — but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision.” — *From a geography by Strabo, a Greek geographer who lived in the first century A.D.*

My men grow mutinous day by day ;
My men grow ghostly wan and weak.
The stout mate thought of home ; a spray
Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek ;
“What shall I say, brave Admiral, say,
If we sight naught but seas at dawn ?”
“Why you shall say at break of day,
‘Sail on ! Sail on ! Sail on ! and on !’”

— *Joaquin Miller, Columbus.*

Even Columbus could not have controlled the crews much longer. Then, finally, on the night of the eleventh of October, thirty-three days after they had left the Canary Islands behind them, the ever watchful Columbus saw lights moving not far off, as if they were being carried over rough ground. Shortly after midnight, the signal of "Land ahead!" was given, and the ships hove to till morning.

The Landing. — One cannot believe there was much sleep aboard the little ships that night. When day broke, the expedition found itself near the coast of a small wooded island. Dark-skinned natives, "naked as they were born," says Columbus, came running down to the shore, amazed at the sight of the three ships with their white wings, evidently descended from heaven. And surely, those gentle savages thought, these fair bearded strangers, clad in gorgeous raiment, could be none other than gods! The Spaniards, in turn, were filled with eager curiosity as to what this land might be. Ferdinand Columbus, in his life of his father, has given a good account of the landing:



THIS STATUE OF COLUMBUS stands at the summit of a lofty monument (some sixty feet high) in his honor in Madrid. The sides of the base of the tower are filled with sculpture showing scenes from his work.

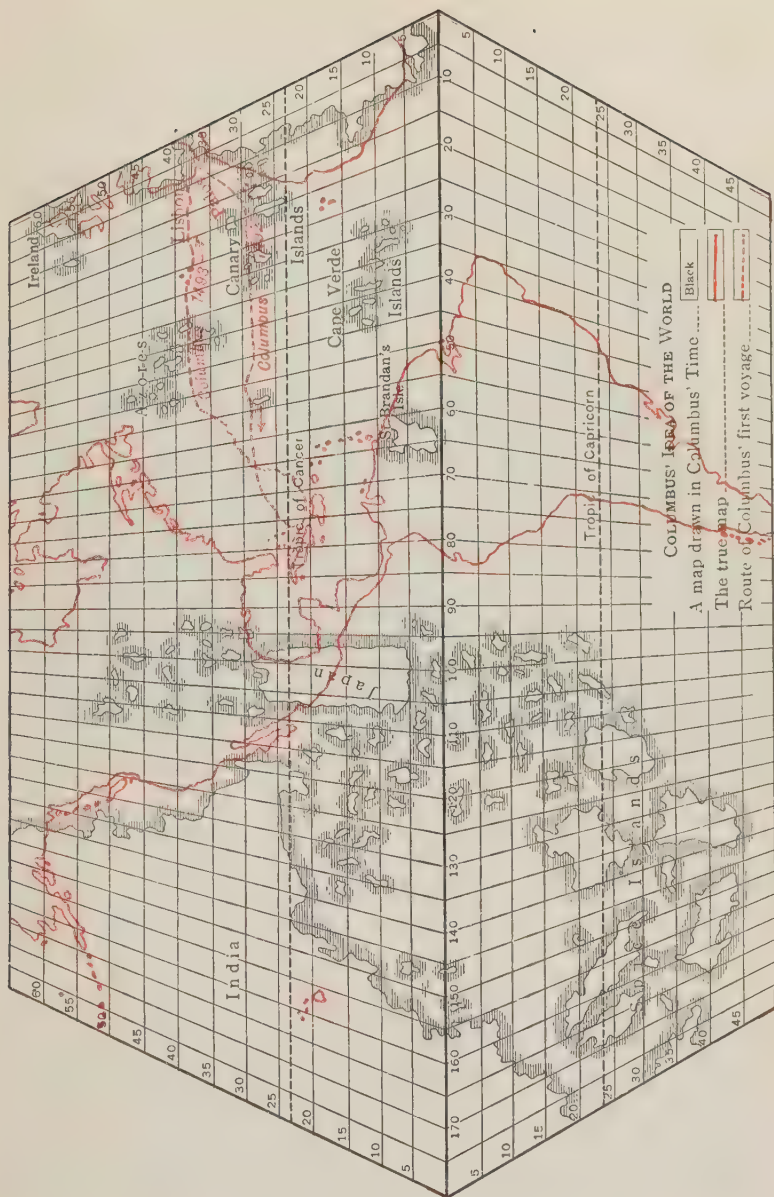
"The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the ground for joy, returning God thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during their long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed, and their now happy discovery of unknown land. The Admiral then stood up and took formal possession in the usual

words, for [Ferdinand and Isabella], of this island, to which he gave the name St. Salvador. Numbers of Indians or natives of the island were present at these ceremonies; and, perceiving them to be peaceful, quiet, and simple people, the Admiral distributed several presents among them. To some he gave red caps, and to others strings of red beads which they hung about their necks, and various other things of small value which they valued as if they had been jewels of high price."

The Return. — Columbus was convinced that he had touched upon one of the islands east of the coast of Asia. According to the maps he carried with him, the coast of Cathay could not be far away. He explored among the islands of the Bahamas and the Antilles, and coasted along the shores of Cuba and of Haiti. Finally, he turned back toward Europe. March 15, 1493, he anchored once more in the harbor of Palos. His noble courage and persistence had doubled the size of the known world.

Ferdinand and Isabella received him with the greatest honor. As gifts for the royal pair he had brought gay tropical birds, specimens of strange sweet-scented plants, and some of the native "Indians," adorned with rings of gold. He was made to sit in the royal presence — a most unusual favor — while the king and queen listened eagerly to his recital. But great as was the rejoicing, no one as yet realized the importance of the discovery of land to the west. In reality a new age had begun.

What is the real merit of Columbus? There have been plenty of people, both in his own day and since, to belittle what he accomplished. These people claim that it was really not such a dreadfully hard voyage; that after all he did not find Cathay, as he set out to do; and that some one else would have been sure to discover America pretty soon in any case. It was in answer to some of these critics that Columbus is said to have passed around an egg, asking if anyone could



The map *in black* on the other side was drawn about 1490 by an Italian geographer named Toscanelli. It is supposed that Columbus had this map with him on his first voyage. Toscanelli got his ideas from a careful study of the reports of European traders who had visited parts of Asia and had heard stories about more distant parts.

Our map-maker has drawn in the *true outline* of the continents and islands in *red*. (Asia is too far east to show at all on this true map.)

Does Toscanelli's map show you why Columbus was sure he had reached India? You should compare it not only with the true map here, but also with the European maps that were made soon after Columbus' voyages (after page 34).

make it stand on end. You have probably heard how all failed, till the egg was passed back to Columbus. He cracked it a little, and then stood it on end — a thing which anyone could do, once he had seen it done.



MONUMENT AT THE GRAVE OF COLUMBUS, SEVILLE. — Columbus had requested that his body be buried in Haiti (which he fondly called *Hispaniola*, or *Little Spain*). He was buried first at Valladolid in Spain, where he died in 1506, and was later moved to Seville. It was not until 1540 that his remains were taken to Haiti. When the Spanish lost that island to France in 1796, his body was moved to Havana, Cuba. There this monument was erected in his honor. When Cuba became independent, the casket and monument were sent back to Seville.

Nor can the discovery be called an accident. To be sure Columbus did not find Cathay. But if he had not set out courageously with the idea of finding *something*, he would not have found America. The "Sea of Darkness" had at last been crossed — and Europe was now full of navigators impatient to cross it in the wake of the pioneer. But none of them had dared risk it the *first* time. James

Russell Lowell puts the meaning of Columbus' victory into these lines, —

“One faith against a whole world's unbelief,
One soul against the flesh of all mankind.”

FURTHER READINGS

There are many good accounts of Columbus. Some that you would find interesting are found in: Lawler, *The Story of Columbus and Magellan*; McMurry, *Pioneers on Land and Sea*; Stapley, *Christopher Columbus*; Tappan, *American Hero Stories*; Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, pp. 19-52; *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 29, 33, and 102; Barstow, *Explorers and Settlers*; Hart, *Source Book of American History*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. In what ways is a water route better than a land route today? Has a land route any advantages over a water route? Were the same things true in Columbus' time?

2. Let members of the class report further on the adventures of Marco Polo and on the work of Prince Henry the Navigator.

3. Show on an outline map of the world the parts known to Europeans before 1492. What parts did they know *directly*? What parts did they know *by rumor only*? What did Columbus add to their knowledge?

4. Write a conversation between Columbus and a sailor before the voyage to America.

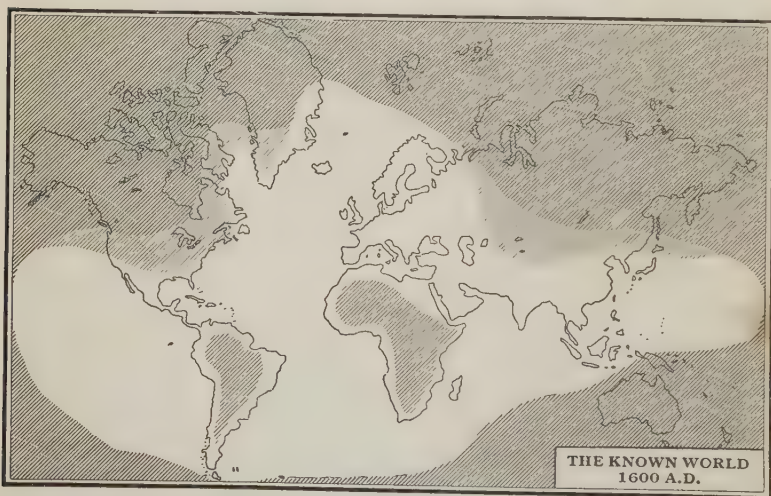
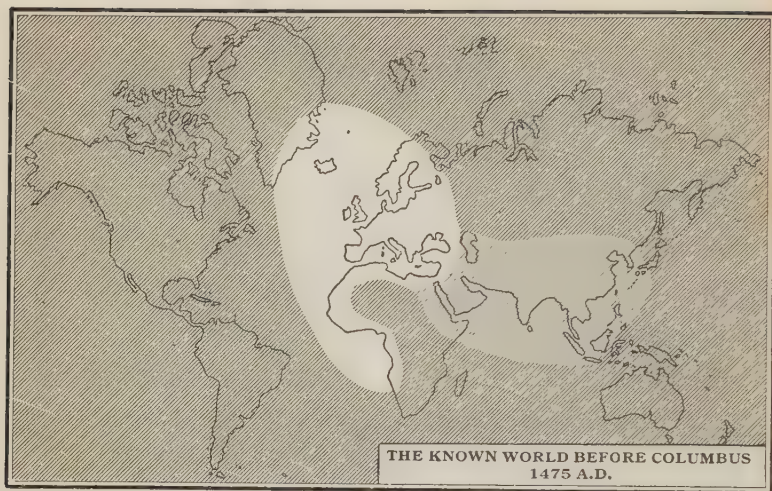
5. Write a conversation between two persons of the year 1493 who had just heard of Columbus' voyage.

II. THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS

The Portuguese Reach India First. — Columbus made three more voyages before his death. He touched upon the coast of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco, coasted along the shores of Central America, and discovered many of the islands of the West Indies. But he found no rich cities,



GROWTH OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE WORLD. Only the white parts were known to civilized men. See the back of this page for more progress.



GROWTH OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE WORLD, *continued*. See first the maps on the other side of this page.

no spice islands, no great mines of gold ; and he died broken-hearted, with no understanding of the importance of his own discoveries.

One thing which helped to discredit his work was the fact that in 1497 *Vasco da Gama*, sailing for the king of Portugal, had finally rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India by sailing around Africa. The Portuguese immediately established trade with the East and as far as possible made it a monopoly. In one of their voyages, *Cabral*, a Portuguese sea-captain, was driven by a storm across the Atlantic to South America — so establishing a Portuguese claim to Brazil.

Spanish explorers, however, continued to hunt for a route to the East by way of the West. In doing so they added many important facts to men's knowledge of the world. It took them a long time to realize that the new discoveries contradicted all their old notions. But little by little they found their ideas had been wrong ; and, as voyagers reported new oceans entered and new lands touched upon, geographers began to reconstruct their maps.

At first they were sure they had reached Asia ; then, that the new lands were in some way connected with Asia, or that they were islands around which a way to Asia would soon be found. The first explorer to suggest instead that a "new world" had been found was *Americus Vespucius*, an Italian map-maker, who sailed with expeditions for both Spain and Portugal. His interesting letters about his voyages were printed and widely circulated. On later maps we find his name given first to South America, which he described in his letters, and finally to North America as well. But it was two centuries before people had any correct idea of the shape and size of the new continents.

One of the most important steps in the correction of the old ideas was the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa. Balboa was a Spaniard who had heard from the Indians in Darien of

a great sea across the mountains, with rich cities along its shores. He set out to find it, with Indian guides and with a band of several hundred picked men. They had but forty-five miles to go, but they were eighteen days on the road.



VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA TAKING POSSESSION OF THE SOUTH SEA (Pacific). From a Spanish history printed in 1601.

Swamps and impenetrable forest blocked their path. Hostile Indian tribes attacked them. When they reached the base of the mountain from which they were told the Great Sea could be seen, only sixty men were fit to go on. The last part of the ascent Balboa made alone. At the

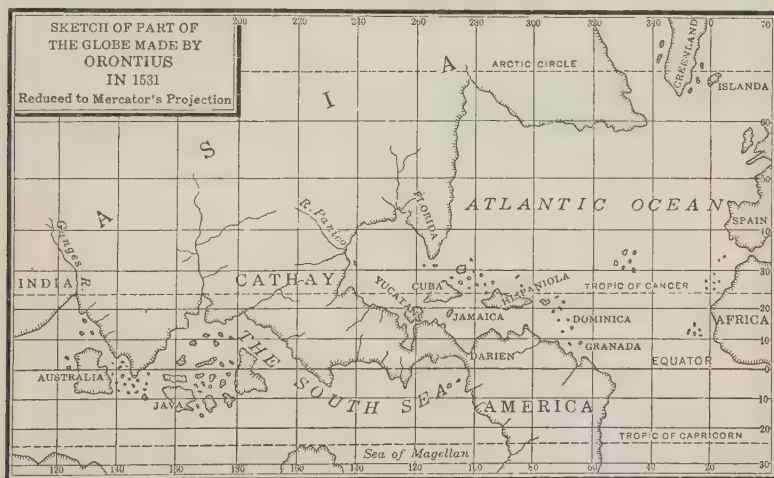
top he knelt, praying and gazing long at the broad expanse below him. The descent to the coast took four days more. There he waded out into the ocean, his drawn sword in one hand and the flag of Spain in the other, and took possession of it in the name of Spain.

Magellan Completes Columbus' Work. — By sailing west, Columbus had found, not India indeed, but a new continent in his path. Now Balboa had discovered that *beyond* that continent lay another great ocean. Perhaps then Columbus might have been right after all. If a man could only find his way through or around America into that new western ocean, could he not complete Columbus' work by sailing on west until the east should be found? This was finally done, in a heroic voyage, by *Magellan*, a Portuguese sailor in the employ of Spain.

Magellan was convinced that there must be a strait by which ships could pass from sea to sea and so to the East. This might make it possible for the Spaniards to share in the trade of the Spice Islands, which Portugal so far had denied



LEONARDO DA VINCI'S
MAP, 1514
The first one with the name
"America"



GROWTH OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICA. The first map gives South America a strange shape, and makes Florida an island near China. The second is better for South America, but makes Florida part of Asia. See also the other side of this page; and compare, too, with Toscanelli's map, facing p. 32.



GROWTH OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICA, *continued*. But see how narrow North America was still thought to be.

them. With a fleet of five small ships Magellan sailed from Spain in August, 1519. A gentleman named Pigafetta traveled with him "for to see the marvels of the ocean," and from his journal we have a vivid account of the most remarkable voyage in history. Instead of sailing directly west as Columbus had done, Magellan struck out to the southwest. He was becalmed for weeks; and then for a month his little



AMERICAN BATTLE SHIPS IN THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN during an expedition around the world in 1907. From a painting by Henry Reuterdaahl, who accompanied the expedition.

fleet was buffeted by the most frightful storms. Food and water were nearly exhausted. Finally he reached Brazil and coasted southward, always looking for an opening by which he could reach the new ocean to the west.

The southern cold became intense. The months of the northern summer were the winter in this southern hemisphere, and in March, 1520, Magellan was forced to go into winter quarters at what is now Port St. Julian. There the crews of three ships broke into open mutiny. The shrewd

Magellan discovered the conspiracy before all the plans were complete, and crushed it sternly by putting the ringleaders to death.

In August, with the first signs of spring, the expedition started southward once more, and at last in October it entered the strait which now bears Magellan's name. "On both sides of this strait are great and high mountains covered with snow," writes Pigafetta. Panic-stricken at the thought of what lay before them, the sailors besought Magellan to turn back, but he answered that he would complete what he had set out to do "if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards." One ship did slip away at night and made its way back to Spain. For five stormy weeks the remaining vessels wound their way between the rocky walls of the strait — a difficult piece of navigation even for ships of our own day. When at last "the captain . . . saw the way open to the other main sea, he was so glad thereof that for joy the tears fell from his eyes."

Magellan gave the name "*Pacific*" to the calm expanse that here spread before him. But worse than storms now befell them. North and west they sailed for three months and twenty days, without sighting land except for two little rocky islands which furnished neither food nor water. The crews were in desperate straits; many were ill, and some died of hunger. Magellan was forced to keep his vow: the starving men ate the leather stripped from the yard arms and soaked in the sea. But there was no more talk of mutiny. Their only hope lay now in their resolute leader. At last in March of 1521 the expedition reached inhabited islands, known now as the Ladrones and the Philippines. The coveted Spice Islands, it was learned, lay to the south, not far away.

In the Philippines Magellan was killed in a fight with savage natives. But his flagship, the little *Victoria*, sole survivor of the fleet, sailed on to Spain around Africa, as he

had planned, bringing from the Spice Islands a precious cargo of twenty-six tons of cloves. This three-year voyage completed the work of Columbus and Balboa.

Meantime, other daring Spanish adventurers were searching for gold and wealth of other kinds in the new lands. Spain had promptly fixed her claims in the West by founding colonies on the islands and coasts touched by her navigators. Other expeditions were sent to explore further into the interior.

In 1513, while Balboa was hunting for the South Sea, *Ponce de Leon* landed on the east coast of North America. It is said that he was seeking the fabled "Fountain of Youth"; certainly he hoped to find gold. He found neither, but he brought back reports of a fertile and luxuriant country which he called *Florida*.

More thrilling discoveries were made further west. In 1519, the same year in which Magellan sailed from Spain, *Hernando Cortes* landed on the coast of Mexico. Here he found the Aztecs, the most civilized race of American natives. But that civilization was strangely mixed with the cruelty of a barbaric people. Their great walled cities of the interior, with well-paved streets and busy market-places, were crowned by golden temples where human sacrifices were made to their gods.

The king, Montezuma, ruled over a whole confederacy of tribes. Suspicious of the strangers landing on his shores, Montezuma and his advisors tried to bribe them to depart by sending them rich gifts. But the presents served only to whet the appetites of the invaders. For fear his men would lose their courage, Cortes burned his ships and started his march into the heart of the country. The story of the conquest is one of courage and cruelty. In less than three years Mexico had become "New Spain." At last the gold which had lured explorers across strange seas to face all the dangers of unknown lands had begun to pour into the coffers

of Spain. About ten years later *Pizarro* discovered and conquered Peru, which, like Mexico, was rich in precious metals.

The gold and silver of Mexico and Peru fired explorers with new hope. From Florida *De Soto* (1539-1542) led an expedition of 600 knights into the interior. Arrayed in full armor, banners flying, they started to penetrate the wilderness. There, instead of princes and rich cities, they found swamp and forest and hostile savage tribes. There too they came upon a mighty river which we know as the Mississippi. After two years of suffering and hardship, *De Soto* died, and his body was buried in secret in the great river, since his followers were justly fearful of what the Indians might do when they found that the white strangers were not immortal. Only a small remnant of the expedition finally straggled back to Spanish settlements.

At the same time, from Mexico, *Coronado* took up the long search for seven rich cities far inland, of which wild rumors were spread among the Indians. Led on by these tales and by an occasional mirage of the desert, he penetrated far into the interior, but he found only adobe huts ornamented with colored pebbles in place of the rich palaces set with bright jewels. Enduring agonies of hunger and thirst, he and his men pressed on probably as far as Kansas, as near as we can tell by their reports. At one time *Coronado* and *De Soto* came within a few days' march of each other, so that a fugitive from one party found refuge with the other. None of these expeditions found wealth, but they all added to man's knowledge of the New World.

Spain's Claim to *all* America was soon Challenged
by England and France

John Cabot was an Italian sea captain in the service of England. In 1497, he started out to look for a passage to



A PUEBLO IN NEW MEXICO. — Coronado found nothing more like the fabled golden cities he was seeking than this.



DE SOTO DISCOVERING THE MISSISSIPPI. — An imaginative painting by William H. Powell in the Capitol at Washington.



Courtesy of Canadian Pacific R. R.



Courtesy of Canadian Pacific R. R.

Above. — LA CHINE RAPIDS visited by a modern excursion.

Below. — MONTREAL TO-DAY, seen from Mount Royal.

(This is the way the wilderness that stopped Cartier's expedition looks to-day.)

India by sailing north of the lands that Columbus had found. He reached Labrador, and set up there the standard of England, and then sailed for some distance along the coast. He found no gold, but on his return he did report great quantities of fish off Newfoundland, afterward an important source of wealth to Europe. An Italian in London at the time of Cabot's return wrote home that the English considered him a great admiral: "He dresses in silk . . . and everyone runs after him like mad."

Cabot's voyage gave England later a vague claim to all North America; but it was eighty years before even the first attempt was made to follow up the discovery by settlement.

The French sent out no explorers until 1524. Then *Verrazano*, an Italian in French service, followed nearly in the path of Cabot. Ten years later, *Jacques Cartier* made a more important attempt to find a north-west passage to the East. Entering the wide gulf of the St. Lawrence, he made his way up the great river until stopped by rapids. These rapids were afterward named "La Chine," because Cartier's men thought that China must lie just beyond them.

French affairs at home, however, were in great disorder, and for nearly seventy years no more French ships visited these coasts except for the frail boats of fishermen, who left no records of their visits. *Through most of the sixteenth century, the New World was Spain's.*



A VIKING SHIP (p. 42),—"reconstructed" according to remains of such vessels found buried in the sand and according to old accounts. Modern scholars doubted whether such an open vessel could cross the Atlantic; but a Norwegian crew did cross in this model in 1892 (the year of the Columbian Exposition).

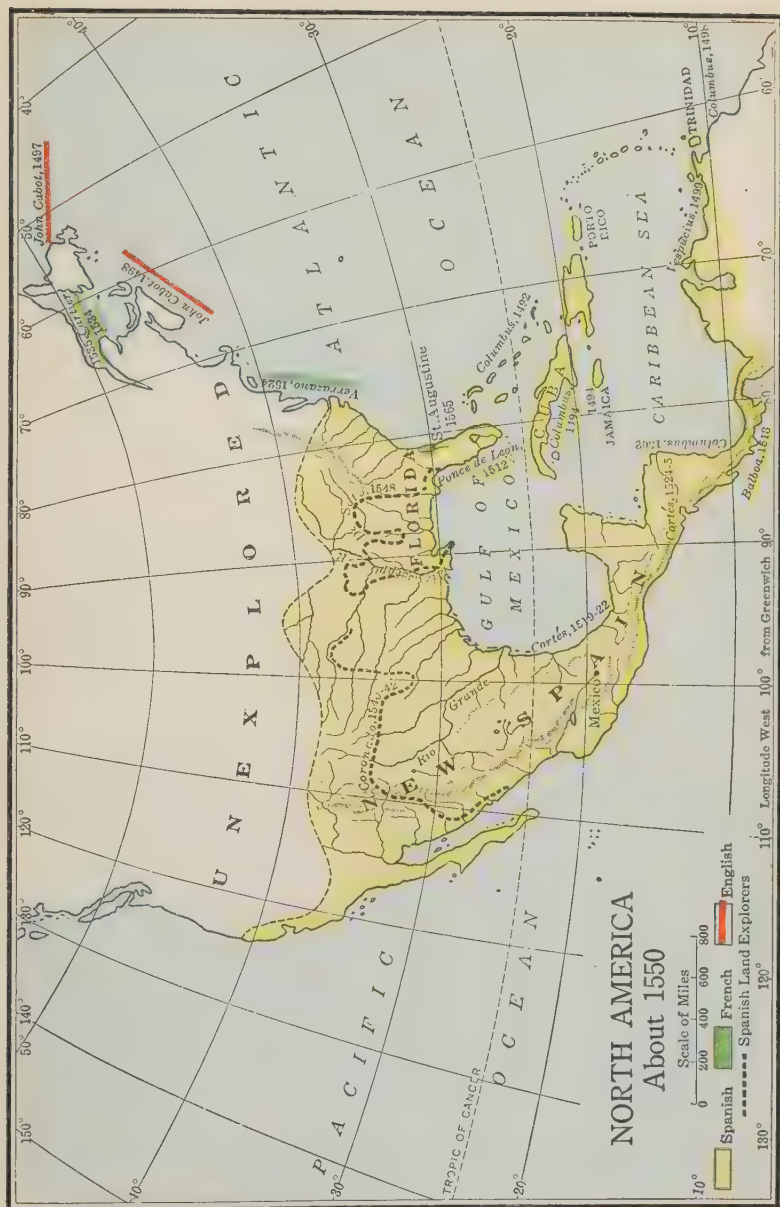
Norse Europeans had visited the northern shores of America long before, but their voyages had produced no important result. Five hundred years before Columbus, Norse Vikings had settled Iceland and then the coasts of Greenland. Then, about 1000 A.D. a Norse ship on its way to Greenland was driven southward by storms and discovered a strange coast. During the next few years, Norsemen made other visits to these shores,—somewhere between Labrador and Cape Cod; but the distance was great, and the gain was small; and finally they stopped coming. They never realized that they had found a new continent; and, *for hundreds of years, the rest of Europe knew nothing of their discovery.*

FURTHER READINGS

Interesting accounts of the explorations may be found in King, *De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida*; Lamprey, *The Days of the Discoverers*; Lawler, *The Story of Columbus and Magellan*; McMurry, *Pioneers on Land and Sea*; Pratt, *Cortes and Montezuma*; Synge, *Book of Discovery*. Accounts by the explorers themselves are found in Barstow's *Explorers and Settlers*; Hart, *Colonial Children*; Hart, *Source Book of American History*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Do you know of any modern explorers who could be compared with Columbus or Magellan? Several students might report on recent explorations.
2. Read the story of the Norse voyages in some of the references above. Some student might make an interesting report to the class on this subject.
3. Show on an outline map how the world expanded from 1492 to 1550. Show which lands had been explored before 1550 by England; by France; by Spain; by Portugal.
4. How did the Philippines come to belong to Spain? How long did she own them? To whom do they belong to-day?

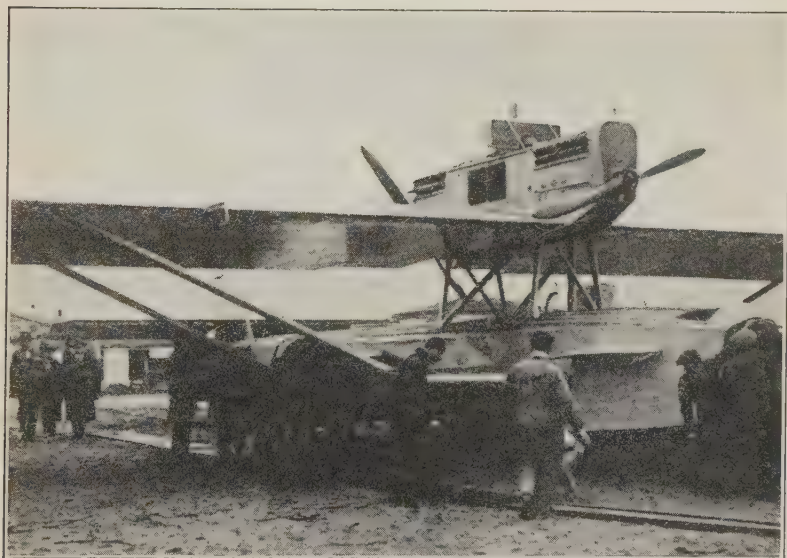


5. When did white men first visit your part of the United States? From what country did they come? Try to find out something of the early explorations of the State in which you live.

6. Pictures like *Balboa taking possession of the Pacific* and *Columbus at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella* are imaginative paintings of historical scenes. In such pictures what *facts* must an artist know in order to have his picture show the truth? Where must he use his imagination? Select other events in this chapter that seem to you good subjects for historical paintings.

7. Make a table about the most important explorers, as :

NAME	EXPLORING FOR	DISCOVERED	DATE
Columbus	Spain	West Indies	1492



AMUNDSEN preparing for his "dash to the pole" in 1925.

Keystone ©



SPANISH CATHEDRAL AT CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO, built soon after 1600 by Indian slave labor. — Photo by Ben Wittick.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT: VIRGINIA

English Seamen Prepare the Way for English Colonization by Destroying Spain's Naval Power

Before England or France had begun any real attempt at a colony, Spain had built up a huge empire in the New World. By 1574, she had more than two hundred towns there, with 150,000 Spanish inhabitants. But only two of her two hundred towns (St. Augustine and Santa Fe), had been founded in what is now the United States. **There was still a chance for France and England in *North America* ;** and these countries now began to make good their claims.

England, especially, was jealous of Spain. Under her great Queen Elizabeth, she was just beginning to realize her strength. Spain was still the richest and most powerful country in Europe, as she had been for nearly a hundred

years. But English seamen were renowned for fearlessness and skill, and they were unwilling to recognize Spain's claim to all the New World, — lands and seas.

Englishmen and Spaniards had come also to be of different religions, and in those times that fact caused them to hate each other. Up to the sixteenth century all Christians of western Europe had belonged to one great church with its



OLD SPANISH MISSION AT SANTA FE (Church of San Miguel), as it looked before the earthquake of 1883. — Photo by Wittick. This is the oldest church in North America, built in 1582.

head at Rome. For anyone to disagree with its teachings was considered a dreadful sin. In the early part of the sixteenth century, however, groups of men appeared who did dare to differ in their ideas from the teachings of the church. These groups also disagreed with each other, and so founded many new churches — Lutheran, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and others. All these new *sects* were called *Protestants*.

Some of the rulers took up the new ideas and established *state churches*. Every subject of each prince was supposed

to be a member of the state church, and to support it with taxes. Hardly anyone believed at that time that it was



A VIEW OF ST. AUGUSTINE (Florida) TO-DAY.
Ruins of the old city wall and the "gates" of the city.

proper for a man to hold beliefs that differed from those approved by the government of his country. A Spaniard had to be a Roman Catholic; an Englishman, a member of "the Church of England" — which was much like our Episcopalian church. Both Catholic and Protestant countries shut

people in prison or put them to death for not belonging to the state churches. In some countries, Protestants and Catholics fought each other many years for control of the government, — as in France, where the Catholics finally succeeded in crushing Protestantism. In the same way, Catholic and Protestant nations fought each other, — as Spain and England did.

For many years before open war broke out, the two countries carried on a sort of half war with each other. Protestant Holland had been part of the European empire of Spain,



CORNER OF OLD SPANISH FORT AT ST. AUGUSTINE as it is to-day. Compare with the picture opposite.

but it had begun a war for independence. Thousands of young Englishmen went as volunteers to aid the rebellion.



A SPANISH PICTURE OF HAVANA, CUBA, ABOUT 1570. — From Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, published by Houghton Mifflin Co.



AN EARLY SPANISH PICTURE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, — the oldest town in the United States (1565). — From Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*.



Above. — **DRAKE'S SHIP, *The Golden Hind*.** (The English flag until 1707 was just the Cross of St. George.)

Below. — **QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE** on board *The Golden Hind* on his return from his voyage around the world (1681).

Daring English traders, too, broke the Spanish "monopoly" by trading with Spain's American colonists and so getting some of the profits that were supposed to belong only to Spanish merchants. The Spanish authorities, in return, seized English sailors wherever they could catch them in "the Spanish Sea," and put them to death.

Then little fleets of English "sea dogs" began to seize Spanish treasure ships and even to raid rich Spanish towns in America. Finally *Francis Drake*, boldest of bold sailors of his time, sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific. He swooped down on the Spanish colony of Chile, on the west coast of South America, where no hostile visit had even been dreamed of. In his little ship loaded with Spanish treasure, Drake continued up the coast of North America "till the icicles hung from his masts," claiming all that western coast in the name of England. Then, leaving the aroused Spaniards buzzing angrily behind him, he turned west once more, and sailed across the Pacific, around Africa, and back to England, — the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada. — All this time, the *governments* of Spain and England were supposed to be at peace. But now Queen Elizabeth knighted Drake for his exploits — instead of hanging him, as Spain demanded — and soon she openly sent men and money to aid the heroic Hollanders in their rebellion. Then Spain prepared a huge fleet, "the Invincible Armada," which, in 1588, set out proudly to conquer England. Sir Francis Drake and his fellow seamen, in their smaller and swifter boats, swarmed to the defense of the island. Though many times outnumbered, they won a striking victory over the Spaniards in a nine-day battle off the English coasts.

This English victory decided that America should not be Spanish. Spain did not then lose the colonies she already

had, but she was no longer able to make good her claims to the whole continent, or to keep other countries from gaining a foothold in the New World.

FURTHER READINGS

You will find good accounts of the adventures of Sir Francis Drake and the rivalry between Spain and England in Barnes, *Drake and His Yeomen*; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, Vol. I; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*; Synge, *Book of Discovery*; Tappan, *American Hero Stories*. Hart's *Colonial Children* and his *Source Book* have the story of Drake's voyage as it was written at the time.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. What American countries once belonged to Spain?
2. What is the real importance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in American history? Do you think a Spanish victory would have made any difference to us?
3. Why was Spain less interested in North America than in South and Central America?
4. Suppose a new island is discovered to-day, to whom would it belong?
5. Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his exploits. What do you think the President of the United States would do to-day to an American ship captain if he imitated Drake?

England Makes her Claim Good by Settling "Virginia"

Even before the defeat of the Armada, Englishmen had begun attempts to colonize North America. In 1578, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, scholar and knight, obtained a "charter" from Queen Elizabeth, giving him the right to explore the coast of America and to plant and rule colonies there. He did take some settlers to Newfoundland; but the climate proved severe, and the hoped-for gold was wanting.



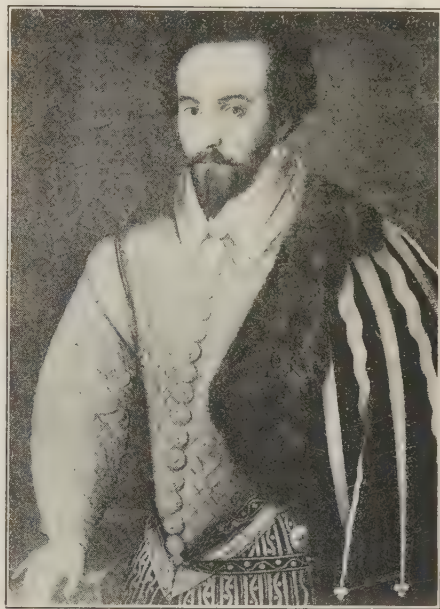
PART OF THE ARMADA SEA FIGHT.

The red cross (Cross of St. George) marks an English ship.

Gilbert had exhausted his large fortune, and after a few months, the discouraged colonists returned to England. On the homeward voyage, Gilbert was drowned. His friends on the companion ship were terrified at the sight of his smaller vessel buffeted by the waves. But Gilbert himself sat calmly reading his Bible, as his little boat was pitched about by the storm.

Seeing his friends' distress, he called cheerily to them, "We are as near Heaven by sea as by land!" Then a great wave rolled over his ship, and he was seen no more.

The enterprise was taken up at once by Gilbert's half-brother, the gallant *Sir Walter Raleigh*, who secured from the Queen a charter like Gilbert's. He sent three expeditions to America, and established a small colony on Roanoke Island, off the Carolina coast.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH. — A portrait now in the National Gallery in London.

But supplies were delayed. England needed every man and every ship in her struggle against the Spanish Armada. When the supply ships did arrive at Roanoke, the colony had vanished without a trace.

Raleigh had spent his fortune (a huge one for those days), and, though he sent ships from time to time to hunt for the missing colonists, he could not make another settlement. Still he never lost faith. Years later, poor, in prison, and

near his death, he wrote with dauntless courage, "I shall yet see it [America] an English nation."

In spite of their failures, Gilbert and Raleigh are called "the fathers of American colonization." They showed the founding of colonies to be a heroic and patriotic undertaking. Gilbert had written, "He is not worthy to live at all that for fears, or danger of death, shunneth his country's service and his own honour." Their experience had proved that no one man was able to build a colony in America by his own resources; but they had awakened the interest of their countrymen in the work, and *stock companies were now formed to take it up.*

Nowadays if we wish to start a big undertaking that will need a large amount of capital before any profits can be expected, we usually form a *stock company*, or *corporation*. That is, many people put money into one fund, and get the right from the government to choose officers and to carry on business as one person. Their exact powers and duties are written out in a *charter* (or *franchise*). Do you know of any such grants to-day?

The Virginia Company's Charter. — In 1606, a group of London merchants obtained a charter from King James — who had now succeeded Queen Elizabeth on the throne. This "London Company," or "Virginia Company," was to stay in England, but it was to have the right to found a colony in Virginia. (This name had been given some years before to all the American territory claimed by England.)

The Company was to have any profits it might be able to get from the enterprise, and it was to govern its colonists as it thought best, provided it made no laws for them contrary to the laws of England. All colonists were guaranteed the "rights of Englishmen." This very important clause meant, among other things, that no colonist could be de-

clared guilty of any serious crime without a trial by a jury of his neighbors. This was one of several like privileges of which Englishmen of that age were justly proud, but which were not then known to the people of other lands.

Jamestown: the First Successful English Colony. — The Company at once began preparations to send settlers to America, and, in June of 1607, the first shipload of 104 colonists established a settlement on the banks of a river flowing into Chesapeake Bay. In honor of the King, they called the river *the James*, and the settlement *Jamestown*.

The settlers were wearied by their many weeks of ocean travel. The small over-crowded vessels had been tossed unmercifully by the waves; and, during the long weeks of the voyage, food had become wormy and even the leather sacks of water had grown slimy. The best accommodations for passengers then were less comfortable than our poorest steerage to-day. Men who had journeyed under such conditions were ready to greet any land with joy.

The green valley of the James seemed to them a paradise. Master George Percy, who went out with an exploring party to select a spot for the settlement, wrote of the "faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters runninge through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof. . . . Going a little farther, we came into a plot of fine and beautifull strawberries, foure times bigger and better than ours in England."

But alas! this fair show was deceitful. During the hot summer the swampy meadows of the James sent forth deadly fevers. Bands of Indians, too, found it easy to creep up through the long grass and bushes to surprise the little camp. In a few weeks, two-thirds of the colonists perished, and the rest were in danger of dying from lack of food. In their eagerness to find gold, they had neglected to plant the seed they had brought from England until too

late for a crop the first season, and very likely they would have starved during the winter if it had not been for one man among them.

This man was Captain John Smith, who now came to the front and took upon himself the leadership and the rule of the colony. He soothed the suspicious natives and even

induced them to sell to the hungry colony part of their winter's supply of Indian corn. He learned from them, also, the quickest way to get a crop the next year by planting among the standing stumps—after merely girdling the trees, so that there should be no foliage to shade the soil.

And he did something else even more difficult. Many of the first colonists were what were then called "gentlemen," little used to work or to any regular discipline. But Smith enforced the rule that those



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, — drawn by himself. Smith's inscription on the picture calls his "deeds more fair than his face."

who did not work should not eat; and soon he had every man busy, not in useless hunting for gold for himself, but in clearing the forest and preparing the soil for crops, building shelters and store-houses, and getting out lumber, so that profitable cargoes might be ready when ships sailed back to England.

"All these things," writes one of the company, "were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the

Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers that many times every third blow had a loud othe to droune the echo; for remedie of which sinne the President [Smith] devised how to have every mans othes numbred, and at nighte for every othe to have a Cann of water poured doune his sleeve; with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scare heare an othe in a weeke."

In 1609, Smith was injured by an explosion of gunpowder, and had to return to England. Then matters went to ruin again. The next winter was long known as **The Starving Time**. When Smith left, the colony had grown to more than three hundred men; but spring found only sixty of them alive. These gaunt and despairing survivors decided to give up the settlement and try to get back to England. They did embark, — though they had neither provisions nor proper ships; but at the mouth of the river they met a

new governor from England with a fleet of supply ships, — and once more the colony was saved.

"The Starving Time" was followed by what the Virginians justly called "**The Time of Slavery**." For some years the governor was a stern soldier, *Sir Thomas Dale*. Dale kept order, and protected the settlements from the Indians; but he was unnecessarily cruel. He had men flogged cruelly, or even put to death, for slight offenses. He adopted one wise measure, however, to encourage industry. In 1614, he



POCAHONTAS. — A portrait painted in England, showing also the dress in which this Indian girl was presented at court in England. Pocahontas befriended Jamestown on several critical occasions and finally married John Rolfe, one of the gentlemen of the colony.

gave a three-acre garden plot to each of the eighty-one *free* settlers (those who had paid their own expenses across the Atlantic). Most of the colonists, however, were still "servants" of the Company (those whose expenses had been paid), and worked only on the Company's land.

Through the early years, the colony was really one vast **plantation**, with all men working together for the Company in England. The Company selected settlers, appointed governors, and furnished transportation and supplies, much as a big lumber company in Minneapolis or Seattle sends a band of workmen with their overseers into our northern woods. The Governor and Council in Virginia were the overseers for the Company. They directed the work of the settlers, enforced the rules made by the Company, kept the supplies in a common storehouse, and distributed them as they were needed. During the first years all sorts of supplies had to be brought from England, — medicines, clothing, furniture, tools, arms and ammunition, seeds, stock animals, meal, bread, butter, cheese, salt, meat. More than once, the very life of the colony depended upon the prompt arrival of eagerly expected supply ships. The settlers even dated events from "The First Supply," or "The Third Supply."

This first English colony had many lessons to learn, as had also the managing Company in England. What sort of supplies were best to send? What kind of work was most profitable under the new conditions in America? What was the best way to rule the colonists? How could Indian wars be avoided? Only bitter experience could solve such problems. We must remember that *this first colony had to solve them in large part for all the colonies that followed.*

And Virginia's experience *was* bitter. At the end of ten years, out of more than a thousand settlers who had landed in the colony, only three hundred and fifty-one were living.

Gradually it became plain to everyone that settlements must not be attempted near large swamps, and that the Indians must be treated honestly and kindly as well as firmly. For a time, the Company wasted large sums in trying to raise silk worms, which proved unfit to thrive in the Virginia climate, and in seeking to introduce glass works, although labor proved too costly for such an industry to pay. But they learned at length that tobacco could be raised cheaply and sold for profitable prices in Europe; so *tobacco-raising soon became the main Virginia industry.*

Can you think of any reason why Englishmen should have wished to produce silk in America? One of the first colonial efforts was the planting of mulberry trees, whose leaves make a favorite food for silk worms; and here and there an ancient tree of this planting is still pointed out to visitors in the South. Some very enthusiastic men among the early explorers hoped that the American caterpillars could be trained to spin silk.

Before long the Company learned, too, that colonists worth having would not spend their lives in the wilderness without homes and families. The early expeditions were made up of men only; but afterward the Company encouraged married men to take their families with them; and in 1619 they sent over a whole shipload of young women who were willing to try life in the colony. These women were promptly chosen for wives by unmarried colonists, who then paid the Company in tobacco for their passage to America.

For some years, we have seen, the Company tried to keep practically all the land directly in its own hands, having it worked by bond servants under the direction of a few free foremen. But it became plain that under this system not many of the best type of settlers would ever go to Virginia. **In 1618 the Company adopted a new plan, and gave large**

tracts of land to all free settlers. It also provided that in the future each colonist who paid his own way to America was to receive fifty acres for himself and fifty more for each member of his family and for every servant he brought with him. (How did this differ from Dale's action in 1614?)

The right to own land of their own in Virginia caused many ambitious families to emigrate. Soon wealthy colonists were cultivating great plantations of tobacco, bordering the banks of the broad rivers for miles. There were no roads yet except rivers; and it was a long time before a successful plantation could be established unless it bordered upon a navigable stream.

The next great difficulty was to get enough labor to take care of the large crops. In 1619, a Dutch slave-ship stopped at Virginia, and readily sold its *twenty Negro slaves* to the planters. That form of labor soon became common; but still, during the seventeenth century, *most of the work was done by white "bond servants,"* or "indentured servants," — so called because they had bound themselves to a master for a term of years (usually four or six) in return for their passage money.

The First Representative Assembly in America. — In England at that time, alone of all the large countries of Europe, the people had a share in the government. They chose men to represent them in Parliament, where they made laws and laid the taxes. King James tried in every way to limit the power of Parliament, but Englishmen insisted resolutely on their rights. The leaders in the London Company were also leaders of this patriot party in Parliament, and strong believers in the right of Englishmen to govern themselves.

So they decided that their colonists ought to enjoy a like privilege. *In 1619*, just after they had introduced private land ownership, they invited the colonists to choose



JAMESTOWN IN 1622. — From a Dutch print of that time. This was the only "town" in Virginia for many years longer, and it was mainly a fort.



THE JAMESTOWN CHURCH. — restored in the original form for the Tercentenary celebration in 1907. See p. 112.



MOUNT VERNON, the home of George Washington, as it appears to-day.

Above. — A view of the house.

Below. — An airplane view of the estate, showing some of the fields.

Mt. Vernon was a typical Virginia plantation of the eighteenth century.

representatives to an Assembly which should make laws for Virginia.

All Americans owe a great debt to these progressive members of the London Company; but King James hated them. Finally, he charged them in the English courts with mismanaging Virginian affairs. In 1624 the courts took away the Company's charter, and Virginia became a royal colony. Governors were appointed by the king, instead of by a company, and land grants had to come through the king.

But Virginia managed to keep its liberties. At first, the Virginians were afraid that the king and his royal governors would take away the rights that the Company had given them. Accordingly, the Assembly adopted a brave and ringing declaration — "*That the Governor shall not lay any taxes . . . upon the colony . . . other way than by the authority of the General Assembly.*" This was the first statement in America of the old English principle of "no taxation without representation": no taxation, that is, except by the representatives of those who must pay the taxes.

After a little hesitation, the king and his royal governors agreed to this principle. The colonists went on making laws and laying taxes in their own Assembly and always resisted fiercely any hint of an attempt to take away the privilege. *Virginia had won a splendid victory for all America.* After this time it proved not worth while to try to found any English colony without granting the settlers this much of self-government.

Life in Virginia after 1624. — After the reforms of 1618 and 1619, Virginia gained rapidly in population and in wealth. No towns grew up: *Virginia life was a plantation life.* The planters lived at intervals of a mile or so from one another, each in his two-storied white frame house, with a long porch across the front. A smaller number of *very wealthy* planters lived lavishly in imposing mansions of

brick or stone, set in park-like grounds on large estates of thousands of acres. These homes were often separated from one another by many miles ; but there was much visiting back and forth between the planters' families, with feasting and music and dancing and sometimes stately balls. Communication was by boat, and, as time went on, by riding on horseback along forest paths.

In other matters, the plantations had little to do with one another. Each was sufficient to itself, except for its trade with England. The imported furniture and fashionable clothing, costly tableware, and other luxuries were unloaded at the planter's own wharf, often from his own ship ; and his tobacco (with that of neighboring small farmers) was taken aboard to sell in Europe. Each plantation had its blacksmith and its carpenter, its tanner and its tailor. The mistress of the mansion supervised the weaving and spinning of the women ; the master rode over his broad fields to supervise their cultivation.

Near the central mansion were the storehouses and offices, and modest houses for the foremen and the skilled laborers. At a little distance was a group of smaller and rather wretched cabins where the slaves and indentured servants slept and ate. Often just beyond the borders of the plantation, or sometimes at a considerable distance in the forest, lay little clearings of the "small farmer" class. These were usually men who had worked out their time as "servants" and who now tilled their few acres of tobacco and foodstuffs with their own hands.

The Virginians were supposed to be members of the English church. Clergymen were sent over from England to minister to the people's needs. The first pulpit in Jamestown was built in a tree, and the congregation stood and knelt in the open air. Very soon churches were built, modeled after the village churches in England. The colony raised taxes to pay the clergy and to build the churches.

As the colony grew, it was divided into *counties*, and the governor *appointed* the most important planters of each county as a *council* to look after local matters. Ordinary men had nothing to do with the government, except when they voted for members of the Assembly. This system of



ST. PAUL'S, NORFOLK, — the oldest English church in America. From a photo.

local government was much the same as they had had in England. It was not democratic; but it did train splendid leaders.

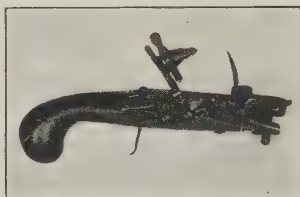
FURTHER READINGS

Hart, *Colonial Children*, and Higginson, *American Explorers*, give descriptions of early Virginia by men who explored and settled there. Good accounts written in our own time are found in Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*; Eggleston, *Our First Century*; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*; Johnston, *Pioneers of the Old*

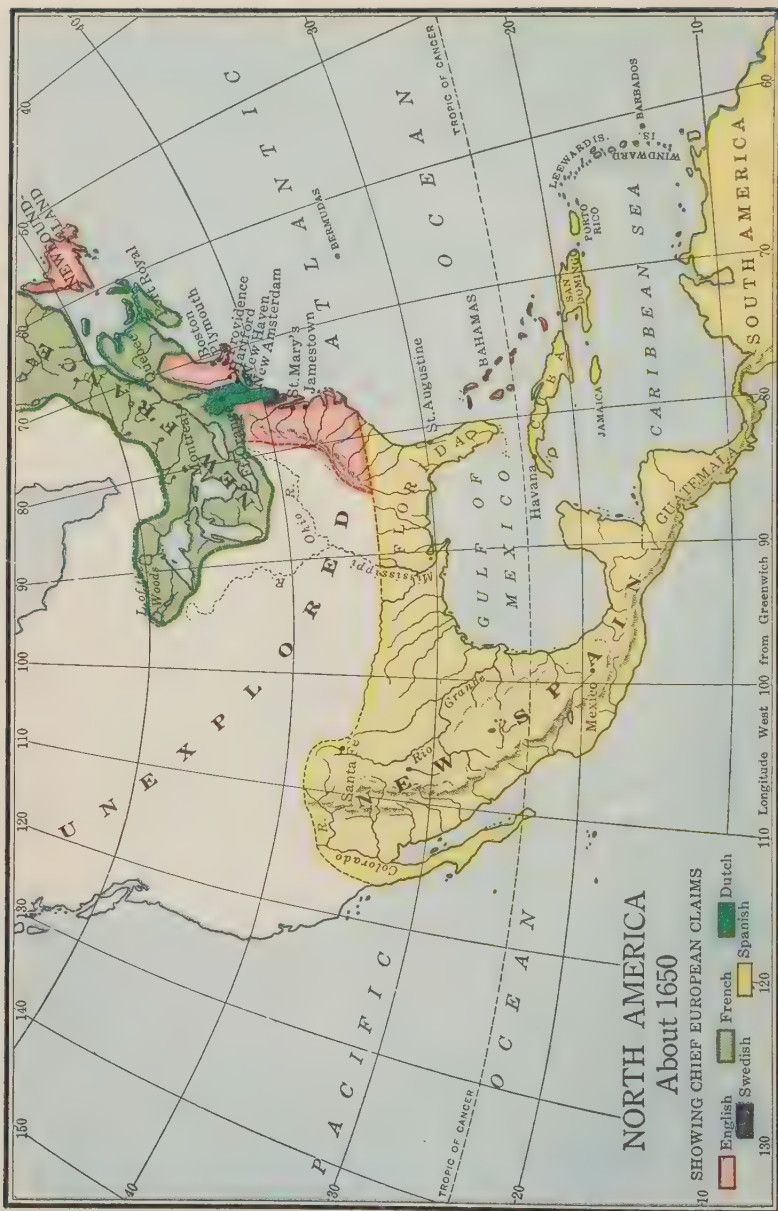
South; McMurry, Pioneers on Land and Sea; Southworth, Builders of Our Country; Tappan, American Hero Stories.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. If you were moving to a new country, how would you decide on a place to settle?
2. What did the first settlers in America find to build houses of? Did they have to bring any of the materials from England?
3. Can you account for the great amount of sickness in the first settlements? Find out from your geographies how the climate of the eastern coast of America differed from the climate of England.
4. Imagine yourself a member of the company which settled at Jamestown, and write a letter home to your family in England giving an account of your life in the New World.



A FLINT-LOCK PISTOL of Colonial days.
Cf. "match-lock" musket on p. 123.





AN ENGLISH FLEET AT SEA. — A seventeenth century print.

CHAPTER V

WHY EUROPEANS CAME TO AMERICA

Colonial America Was a Country of Immigrants

By 1650, England had settlements in Maryland, New England, and the West Indies, as well as in Virginia. Other European countries, too, had become rivals of Spain and England for colonies in the New World. The French had settled in the St. Lawrence valley and were reaching out along the waterways of the interior. The Dutch had thriving trading posts on the Hudson and the upper Delaware, as well as colonies in the West Indies. Even distant Sweden had forts and trading posts near the mouth of the Delaware. **Before we go on with the story of these settlements, we need to see why Europeans were so eager to come to America.**

America the Melting Pot of the Nations. — The European countries *held* their American territories *by sending out pioneers* who were willing to face the hardships of life in a strange new world. Have you ever stopped to think that it was *immigration* which turned America into a white man's continent? The men who founded St. Augustine and Santa Fe were Spanish immigrants; the founders of New Orleans were immigrants from France; the settlers at Jamestown were immigrants from England. The men who

landed in New York in 1623 were immigrants from Holland, just as those who landed there in 1923 were immigrants from Italy, Poland, and other countries of Europe.

All Americans, except those of Indian blood, trace their descent to the Old World — though some families have come to America later than others. With all these immigrants have come a variety of ideas and customs to be welded together into one great American civilization. Even in early colonial days, our country began so to fuse many different peoples into one new race. Then as now, America was the “melting pot” of the nations.

But of all the peoples which have helped to form the ideals and institutions of the United States of America, the English settlers contributed most. It was they, in the main, who set up an independent and united government, and who made our Constitution. For that reason it is to the history of the English colonies on the Atlantic coast that we give the most attention.

In the seventeenth century, as in this one, **America was the “land of opportunity.”** If to-day we ask a group of foreigners newly arrived in the United States why they came, they will give many answers: “To make more money”; “To get an education”; “To have liberty”; “To worship God in our own way.” Perhaps the commonest reason of all is that America is a land where even the poorest have a chance to make a living good enough so that they can educate their children and give them opportunities the parents did not have.

If we inquire why the early English settlers came to the New World, we shall find the answers much the same: “To seek gold and riches”; “To worship as we choose”; “To enjoy more liberty”; “To have better opportunities for ourselves and our children.” These *were* the reasons given in the seventeenth century by men who were exchang-

ing their homes in England for the dangers and hardships of the New World.

The Desire to Make a Better Living. — Englishmen of the seventeenth century found life in England growing very hard. Prices were going up, so that people with moderate incomes and men living on wages could hardly make both ends meet. Wages rose, to be sure, but prices rose faster. *So many men came to America because of the high cost of living.*

Moreover, many laborers in England were out of work. The owners of big estates had found the growing of wool so profitable that they had turned their farms into pastures. It takes very little labor to care for large flocks of sheep, and so most of the men who had plowed and harvested the old fields had now nothing to do. These people could not afford to pay their own passage to the New World; but if they wished to go, ship masters carried them and sold their labor for a term of years, to get back the passage money.

There was also another class of "servants" sent out from England. English law in those days was very severe, so that men were put in prison for very small offenses. People were even kept in jail for being in debt. The English authorities complained that their prisons were full; and so *the government sometimes sent to the New World as bond servants many offenders who had been convicted of only petty crimes.* After they had served some master in this country the required length of time, these men, too, had an opportunity to start life anew.

We call the desire to make a better living an *economic* motive. But men did not always seek new homes in America for economic reasons, — at least not for economic reasons *alone*. Often they had also *political* or *religious* motives.

The Desire for Free Government. — We have seen that James I did not wish his English subjects to enjoy all the

rights they had exercised in the past. When James' son, Charles I, became king, he went even further in interfering with the rights of Englishmen to tax themselves, to determine their own forms of religion, and to be free to speak their own minds in Parliament. Accordingly, during Charles' reign, many men of some importance in England came to America that they might be free to work out their own ideas of government. Very early, America became the "Land of the Free."

The Desire to Worship God in Their Own Way. — In the sixteenth century, all Englishmen were supposed to belong to the Church of England (p. 46). But now a group of people arose who were called *Puritans* because they wished (as they said) to "purify" the English worship. James and Charles were both very hostile to these Puritans; and so many of them came to America in order to worship according to their own consciences.

There were also other smaller groups of extreme Puritans in England called *Independents*, or *Separatists*. These people did not believe that the church should be under the government at all, with the king and the bishops at its head. They wished to have *each congregation* manage its own affairs and decide its own faith. Naturally, the government was even more hostile to these groups than to the main body of Puritans. They were forbidden to worship at all in England, and many of them left the country.

Besides these groups, other new sects were arising — Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians. Neither these new sects nor the old Roman Catholics were allowed their own ways of worship in England, and many from among them came to America.

Men are most important in founding colonies; but at the start something else is necessary too — and that is *money*. And money is just what most of these early English settlers in America did



Above. — SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EMIGRANTS embarking for America.
Below. — TWENTIETH-CENTURY IMMIGRANTS arriving at New York.



JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS. — A wall painting by Walker in the State House in Boston. Eliot was a graduate of Cambridge University in England. He became the greatest Puritan missionary to the Indians, and translated the Bible into the Algonkin language. His converts were known to the New Englanders as "praying Indians," and their villages adopted many of the white man's ways.

not have. It had to be furnished by the rich merchants and great lords who stayed at home. Now, *why were such men willing to put their fortunes into such risky enterprises?*

Many wealthy men, who would not think of giving up the comforts of their English homes, **did think it patriotic to use their money in helping other Englishmen settle in America.** English colonies here would put limits to the empire of Spain, "the ancient enemy," and would force her to recognize England's rights upon the seas.

Then there was the hope of more wealth both for England as a whole and for the men who invested money in founding colonies. At first everyone expected to find rich treasure of silver and gold as the Spanish had done. Such hopes gradually died; but North America did have products for which there was great demand in England. In those days *forests* supplied such needs as our coal mines and oil fields supply to-day, and filled other demands besides. *Fuel* for heating and manufacture; *lumber* for houses and ships; *tar* and *turpentine* for shipbuilding; *potash* for the great English industry of woolen manufacture — all these things were obtained from forests. But English forests were almost used up, and the English demand for these articles was being supplied with great difficulty from the wooded lands around the Baltic Sea. The splendid forests of America promised now to fill all these needs.

The wild animals, too, of the northern American forests supplied *furs*. The fur trade soon became one of the most profitable of all the colonial undertakings, and long remained so. Two centuries later, the first American millionaire, John Jacob Astor, gained his great wealth in the western fur trade.

And off the coasts of North America were some of *the best fishing grounds known to the world*. For a century Europeans of many nations had been crossing the Atlantic to fish there a few weeks each summer. It would be a

great advantage to have settlements on the shores, where supplies could be kept, fish dried and salted, and ships built and repaired. The first nation to make such settlements would have a tremendous advantage in the fisheries.



THE CODFISHERIES, — unloading, drying, and packing.

Moreover, the English merchants and manufacturers hoped especially that the colonies, as they grew in size, would make a steady market for articles manufactured in England. European countries disliked to buy one another's goods if it could possibly be helped, — lest the trade might help their rivals, — and frequent

wars between them interrupted what trade there was anyway. It would be a great gain, everyone believed, to have a market for the country's goods that would always remain friendly.

The Virginia Company was also looked upon as a great foreign missionary society — the first in the Protestant world — and many people who had little other interest in colonization, gave money freely to the enterprise on this account. Just as missionaries are sent nowadays to the less civilized peoples of Africa or of the South Seas, so then they were sent to the American colonies to Christianize the red man.

These many motives stirred up a deep enthusiasm for founding colonies, and even led some young men from wealthy families to take part *personally* in the movement. To such men, love of adventure was also a motive. In 1631 Captain John Smith wrote a plea for colonization, the closing paragraph of which shows the mixture of motives

which led many of these "gentlemen adventurers" to the New World.

"And truly, to a generous spirit, there is no pleasure comparable to good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels; to see daily new countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems; to relieve the oppressed, comfort his friends, subdue enemies, and adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country."

FURTHER READINGS

Reasons why the colonists came to America in the seventeenth century are given (by men of that time) in West, *A Source Book in American History*, pp. 4-19, 157-160. Reasons why men come to America in our day may be found in some of the many interesting books on immigration, such as Holt, *Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans*; Roberts, *The New Immigration*; Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. List all the reasons you can find why Europeans of the seventeenth century came to America. Do the same for the Europeans who come to America in the twentieth century.

2. Compare the hardships experienced by newcomers to this country to-day with hardships experienced in the sixteenth century.

3. What colonies has the United States? Where are they? Of what use are they to us?

4. What other countries have colonies to-day? On a map of the world locate the colonies of the chief nations. Why do countries want colonies? Do you know of any countries that are rivals for colonial power?

5. What colonies were especially valuable for their lumber? Are forests as valuable now as in the seventeenth century?

6. Has the United States a fur trade to-day? Where are the furs obtained? What other countries carry on a rich trade in furs?

7. Are the fisheries of the United States still important? Where are they?

8. It would be interesting to take a *census* of your class, to see from how many nations your classmates are descended. Most of us Americans have the blood of many peoples in our veins. One of the writers finds that though her stock is more than half English, her ancestry has strains of Scotch-Irish, Highland Scotch, German, and French.



SULGRAVE MANOR, the old English home of the Washington family. This picture was taken at a time when the ancient manor house had fallen into some decay. It has since been restored to its original magnificence by American admirers of Washington. The English Washingtons belonged to the aristocracy of country gentlemen (p. 100).



THE *MAYFLOWER*. — A model made in 1923, based on study of records. Now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. The ship is believed to have been 90 feet long and 26 feet wide.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS, 1620-1660

Religious Zeal next Helped to Colonize America

Virginia had been founded partly with patriotic and missionary motives, but largely in the hope of adventure and profit. *Between 1620 and 1640 several other English colonies were established.* Their founders hoped for profit, too: but their chief desire was *to find a place where they could worship as they chose.*

I. THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH

Early Explorations in New England. — For thirteen years Virginia was the only English colony. About the time that the great London Company founded Jamestown, another merchant company in England did *try* to establish settlements in “the *northern* parts of Virginia.” But all such attempts failed. Later, Captain John Smith made a map of that district, naming it *New England*. Meantime many fishermen and traders had visited the region, and reported excellent harbors and promising sites for plantations. They told, too, of splendid forests and a marvelous wealth of fish and furs. But it took a strong purpose and

determined courage to face the long, cold winters and the hardships of making a living on that bleak New England shore.

The Pilgrims in England and in Holland. — The courage and determination necessary for such a settlement was finally found in a little congregation of Separatists (p. 64)



THE BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD — one of the Pilgrim leaders — at Austerfield (near Scrooby) in England.

from the farming village of Scrooby in northeastern England. These earnest men and women were poor in goods, and most of them were unlearned; but they had dared to deny any right in king or bishops to dictate how they should worship God or what they should believe. After many sufferings, they had escaped

from England to Holland, — the only country in the world at that time, as one of the fugitives wrote, “where there was freedom of religion for all men.”

But the Pilgrims, as they now called themselves, found life hard in that foreign land, where they did not know the language and where they had to fit themselves to new trades and employments. Moreover, their children were taking up the ways and language of the Dutch, and might soon be drawn away even from the Separatist religion. **So they resolved to go to America.** There, in some district under their own English flag they hoped to be able to keep their congregation safely together.

After long months of delay they succeeded in getting permission from King James and from the London Company to settle in Virginia. To find the means to get there was even more difficult. In those days people could not simply visit a ticket office and buy passage across



Above. — THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT DELFTHAVEN IN HOLLAND: a recent photo.
Below. — THE FIRST "MEETING HOUSE" (Church) AND FORT AT PLYMOUTH: an imaginative painting.



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS "on a stern and rockbound coast." The painter (Henry Sargent) makes you almost see the bleak air of a New England wintry day.



THE PLYMOUTH PILGRIMS GOING TO "MEETING." The painter (Boughton) has pictured some of the most famous Pilgrims, — Miles Standish and his friend John Alden guarding the rear; Governor Bradford and Edward Winslow in front; and Elder Brewster and Priscilla in the second and third groups.

the Atlantic. The Pilgrims had to seek and hire a ship and also to buy supplies for the long voyage and for the first months in the colony. They were all poor; but at last they persuaded a group of London merchants to lend them the necessary money for seven years. During that time the colonists were to plant and fish and trade for a common store. Out of the returns, they were to have a bare living: all the rest was to go to the merchants, until the debt was paid.

The *Mayflower* Voyage. — These plans and preparations took so long that the expedition was late in starting. When the hundred and two passengers finally embarked in the little *Mayflower*, the summer was nearly gone. The fall tempests of the north Atlantic drove them from their course and delayed them still longer, and it was *ten weeks* before they reached land. Then they found themselves near Cape Cod, much further north than they had planned. But it was too late in the year to go on again. For some days they sent exploring parties in boats along the shore, and finally, late in **December, 1620**, they decided to settle at Plymouth. (The excellent harbor at this place had been so named on Captain John Smith's map.)



PLYMOUTH ROCK, on which the Pilgrims first set foot in the New World. It no longer lies just at the water's edge. See also the picture facing page 75.

Life at Plymouth. — Winter had already set in; but, for some weeks still, most of the little company had to keep their huddled quarters on the *Mayflower*. The men began at once, however, to build log cabins; and as fast as these

rude shelters were ready, groups of settlers were assigned to them and crowded in until "the rooms were as full of beds as they could lie, one by another."

The cold of the New England winter was the most severe these Englishmen had ever known, and, before summer,



JOHN ALDEN AND PRISCILLA. — You have read the story of their wooing in Longfellow's *Miles Standish*. This picture is from an imaginative painting. Notice the Puritan dress and compare with the fashionable dress of the time, p. 122.

half their little company had died. Fearing to let the Indians know how their number was diminishing, the survivors did not mark the graves, and in the spring they planted corn over the slope where their dead lay buried. Nevertheless not one of the Pilgrim company returned to England with the *Mayflower* in the spring. With high heroism they believed (as one of them wrote) that "all grate and honorable actions must be enterprised and overcome with answerable courages."

Plymouth owed its final success in large part to the Indians. One cause for the

many deaths during the winter had been the scarcity of proper food. The supplies brought from England were exhausted. There was plenty of game and fish; but much of the time there were few able-bodied men to be spared for hunting, nor had they yet learned from the Indians how to get wild game. Fortunately they did find some buried baskets of corn on the site of an abandoned Indian village, or the entire company might have starved.

The old cornfields of that village also furnished the sur-

viving Pilgrims with land ready for their crops in the spring. This saved them the tremendous labor of clearing away the forest that stretched everywhere else about them — a labor for which they would have had neither time nor strength. Some of the Indian corn they had wisely saved for seed; and Squanto, a friendly Indian who had learned a little English from traders, showed them how to plant it and care for it. Of this they had a good crop in the fall; but their European seed grain failed to do well in the new climate. Before the end of the second winter the grain ration of each member of the colony was cut down again to five kernels of corn a day.

As in Virginia, **the colonists did not work their best while all the proceeds of their labor went into the common store.** William Bradford, for many years governor of the colony, wrote its history, and he tells us something of this matter: “For the yung-men, that were most able and fitte, . . . did repine that they should spend their time and strength to worke for other mens wives and children. . . . And for mens wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meate, washing their cloaths, etc., they deemed it a kind of slaverie; neither could many husbands well brooke it.”

For this reason, when the *third* spring found the colony still in danger of famine, **each colonist was given a small tract of land to work for himself.** “This,” says Bradford, “had very good success, so as much more corn was planted than other waise would have been. . . . The women now wente willingly into the field, and tooke their little-ons with them to set corne, which before would aledge weakness — whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie.”

This really set aside the agreement with the London merchants; but Bradford and seven other leading men formed a partnership and took over the debt. In return the col-

only granted them sole right to trade with the Indians; and in fourteen years, out of the profits of this trade, the partners managed to pay the debt.

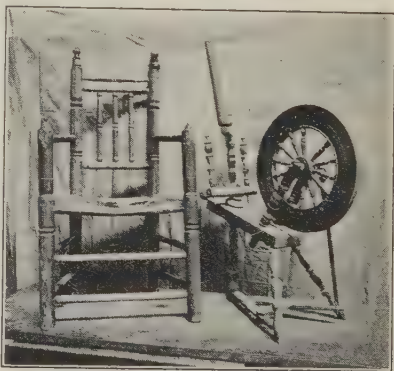


SWORD AND PEWTER POT OF CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH, preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

But the New England Council did not send over officers and make laws. *So the Pilgrims governed themselves.* While still on the *Mayflower* they had drawn up and signed a "compact," in which they agreed to choose officers, make laws, and *obey* them, for the welfare of their settlement. They had then chosen *John Carver* governor. Carver died during the first winter, and they chose *William Bradford* in his place, re-electing him year after year as long as he would consent to serve.

The governor did not *make the laws*: all the men of the colony came together in a general meeting to do that. Much later, when the colony had spread out over several villages, each village sent representatives to a "General Assembly" to make laws for the whole colony.

The Government. — The Pilgrims had not settled in Virginia after all; and so the colony had to secure *a grant of its lands* from the New England Council (a company to which the king had given all New England).



CHAIR OF GOVERNOR CARVER AND OLD SPINNING WHEEL brought to America by the Pilgrims. Now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.



Above. — THE *MAYFLOWER* IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR. — From a painting by Halsall in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

Below. — THE SIGNING OF THE *MAYFLOWER* COMPACT. — From a painting by Edward White.

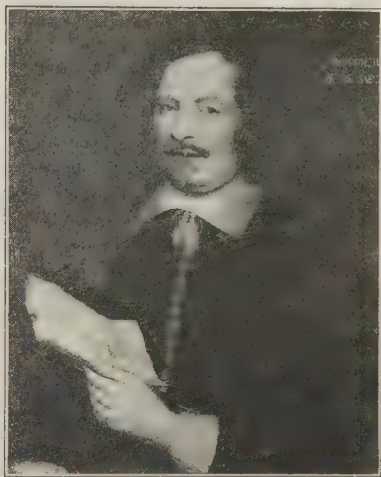


Keystone ©



TWO VIEWS OF PLYMOUTH TO-DAY. — The canopy (of white marble) covers "Plymouth Rock" (p. 71). The statue was erected in 1922 in honor of *Massasoit*, "Guardian of Plymouth," a friendly Indian who helped keep peace between colonists and natives.

Plymouth needed also a military leader, and found a good one in Captain Miles Standish. Some of the neighboring Indians were friendly, but the colonists had constantly to be on their guard against attacks by the less peaceful tribes. They even marched to meeting with their guns on their shoulders. (See picture facing page 71.) Their "meeting house" (as the Puritan called his church) was furnished with cannon, and served also as a fort. The courage and skill of Standish saved the colony more than once. And Miles Standish was more than a gallant soldier: he is to be remembered also for his devoted and tender nursing of the sick during that first hard winter.



Besides *Standish* and *Bradford*, at least two other leaders should be held in lasting remembrance. *Edward Winslow*, who had more education and training than most of the company, was

repeatedly sent to England by the colony to look after its interests there. And *Elder Brewster* for many years served as its pastor and spiritual guide.

Plymouth's Place in History. — Plymouth colony never grew to any great size, and in 1691 it was united with its later-born but more powerful neighbor, Massachusetts Bay (p. 77). But the Pilgrims were the first colonists to come to America for the right to worship in their own way,

EDWARD WINSLOW at the age of 57. — From a portrait painted in England in 1653, during one of Winslow's visits there. Winslow is the only Pilgrim who could have claimed the title of "gentleman" in England (p. 100). He is also the only Pilgrim of whom we have an *authentic* picture.

and the first to form a democratic government. One of their friends in England wrote to them later: "Let it not be grievous unto you that you have been but instruments to break the ice for others: the honor shall be yours till the world's end."



CRADLE OF PEREGRINE WHITE (the first Pilgrim baby in America) AND THE CHAIR OF ELDER BREWSTER. Both these are among the relics in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

FURTHER READINGS

Good accounts of the Pilgrims are found in the books by Eggleston, Southworth, and Tappan, which have already been referred to; and also in Brooks, *Stories of the Old Bay State*; Moore, *Pilgrim and Puritan*; Usher, *Story of the Pilgrims for Children*. Quo-

tations from Governor Bradford's history, and from other members of the colony, are to be found in Barstow, *Explorers and Settlers*; Hart, *Colonial Children*; Higginson, *American Explorers*; West, *A Source Book in American History*. A good novel dealing with the Pilgrims is Austin, *Standish of Standish*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. The Pilgrims spent some time exploring for a place to settle. Can you find from your reading what things made them decide on Plymouth? What do people look for, and what do they avoid in choosing a site for a town? Do you know how *your* town happened to grow up where it is? Try to find out, and compare the difficulties of the early settlers in your town with the difficulties of the Pilgrims.

2. Imagine yourself one of the boys or girls on board the *Mayflower*, and write a letter to one of your friends in Holland, describing your voyage or the events of the first months in America.

II. THE PURITANS AT MASSACHUSETTS BAY

The next colony started on a much larger scale. During the summer of 1630, ten years after the *Mayflower* landed its Pilgrims at Plymouth, seventeen ships entered the neighboring harbors of Massachusetts Bay, carrying nearly two thousand immigrants.

The leaders of this "Great Migration" were Puritans. They had been trying for years in Parliament to pass laws that would give the people more right to say how their taxes should be spent, and to make the English church a Puritan church. King Charles believed that Parliament had no right to discuss these things. He thought that only kings should decide such questions. He quarreled with Parliament frequently, and finally in 1629 he flew into a rage at its fearless obstinacy, dismissed it, imprisoned its leaders, and attempted to govern without any Parliament at all. Many Puritans then began to despair of securing reforms in England, and decided to go to America. There they hoped they might build a freer government and a perfect Puritan church.

The land around Massachusetts Bay, between the Charles and Merrimac rivers, had been purchased from the New England Council by a group of Puritan merchants and gentlemen calling itself the Massachusetts Bay Company. This Company also held a charter from the king giving it the right to set up and govern colonies there. **Twelve members of the Company now decided to go to America themselves,** along with the colonists they were sending out. But they were not willing to be ruled by a trading company in England. So they bought the shares of those members of the Company who did not wish to leave their English homes, **and brought the charter along with them to Massachusetts Bay.**

In reading about Virginia we found that the Company *in England* made rules for the colony and sent officers to Vir-

ginia to enforce them. But the whole Company for Massachusetts Bay was now in America. The members chose one of their number, *John Winthrop*, to be the Governor, elected themselves to fill the other offices, made the laws and enforced them. So, for a time, these ten or twelve men managed all the affairs of the colony of two thousand men.



VILLAGE CHURCH AT AUSTERFIELD, ENGLAND, in which William Bradford worshiped when a boy. This was one of the plainer rural churches of England; but you may notice the beautiful three-arched windows toward the rear.

Early Hardships. — Each of the leaders had brought from England his dozens or hundreds of followers; and the first summer eight little towns were established on the shores of the Bay, Boston being the largest of them.

But the settlers did not escape hardship. Many of the immigrants of 1630 died during the first weeks — largely, thought Governor Winthrop, because of poor or damaged food during the long weeks at sea. Two hundred more became discouraged and returned to England when the ships went back in the fall. Those who stayed nearly

died for lack of food during the first winter. Governor Winthrop had just given away his last handful of meal to a starving neighbor when the anxiously awaited supply ship entered the harbor.

But the great body of settlers remained of steadfast courage. Winthrop wrote back to his wife, "Though we have not beef and mutton etc., yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all." Another leader wrote to a friend in England that it would be a mistake for anyone living in comfort there to come to America *in the hope of improving his condition*; but he adds, "If any godly men, *out of religious ends*, will come over to helpe us . . . I thinke they cannot dispose of themselves or their estates more to God's glory." To such men, he continues, the country offers "materials to build, fewell to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, pure ayer to breath in, good water to drinke."

In this resolute temper, men who had left stately homes, and all manner of comfort and luxury, took up life in frontier log cabins. Famous ministers, who came from beautiful churches in sheltered England, here preached and gave the communion, and married, baptized, and buried, in bleak, barnlike "meeting houses," where the worshipers might hear the dreaded warwhoop break in upon their psalms.

After this first winter, to be sure, the colony was never



THE FIRST "MEETING HOUSE" IN SALEM, — still standing. — From a recent photo. Roger Williams (p. 83) preached here in 1635.

in positive danger of ruin. But a great many of the babies and young children died, unable to endure the harsh climate. A shocking number of brave, uncomplaining, but overburdened wives and mothers "but took New England on the way to Heaven." Men unused to forest life were lost in short trips through the woods and frozen to death. Inexperienced fishermen were swept out to sea. Wolves killed the calves of settler after settler — a serious disaster when new stock had still to be brought across the Atlantic, — and sparks from the roaring, mud-plastered fireplaces set a frightful number of fires. In Plymouth in the third winter one house out of every five burned down. Slowly, however, the settler learned to master the wilderness and to wring a living from it.

The people were soon demanding a share in the government. They were not willing to leave all the affairs of the colony in the hands of the "gentlemen" (p. 100). Governor Winthrop and his council were soon forced to admit some scores of the more important settlers to be members of the Company—or "freemen."

Even after they were so admitted to the Company, the new "freemen" had some difficulty in getting any real power. But in 1634, the "freemen" in each town gained the right to send representatives to a General Court, where they helped make laws and levy taxes and elect officers for the colony. Thus representative government was established in Massachusetts Bay *by the demand of the people themselves.*

We must not get the idea, however, that *all* men had a share in the government even then. Men could not become citizens, or *freemen*, until the General Court voted to accept them; and only those who were known to be good church members and to own considerable property were allowed to come in. *Down to the time of the Revolution not more than one man in five was allowed to vote in Massachusetts.*

Town Life in Massachusetts. — The Englishmen who settled Massachusetts lived quite differently from those who had settled Virginia. Many of them had come to America in *congregations*, led by honored ministers. Each group of this kind had wished to keep together, and to be near its meeting house, where there were always two or more week-day services besides the Sunday worship. Then, too, *a village group could defend itself more easily against Indians* than men could who lived in scattered farm homes.

But *the chief reason for this different manner of life in New England lay in the soil and climate.* The soil of New England was stony and hard to cultivate, and produced such small crops that hired labor on it did not pay. Thus farms had to be small — only what a man and his sons could cultivate themselves. This made it natural for farmers to live, as all European farmers did (p. 19), in small villages, of from thirty to a hundred houses each, with the fields stretching off on one side or another.

Since farming in New England could yield at best only a bare existence, the people sought other occupations also. Fishing and lumbering proved highly profitable. Some villages, indeed, were mainly fishing villages from the first. Shipbuilding, too, was a leading industry. The second summer Governor Winthrop launched *The Blessing of the Bay*, and soon Massachusetts was furnishing ships from her splendid oak forests at the water's edge not only for her own fishing and trading, but to English merchants as well. *All these occupations called for large groups of people*, and so New Englanders, unlike the Virginians, lived in towns.

The Town Meeting. — The first settlements were on the shores of the Bay ; but, as more colonists came, new villages grew up along the rivers further inland, as at Lexington and at Concord. Whenever a group of settlers started a new town, they had first to get permission and a grant of lands from the government of the colony. At first the governor

and magistrates had tried to run the local affairs of the separate towns, as well as of the colony as a whole; but the townsmen soon began to hold meetings to discuss and settle their own town business.

In these town meetings the people elected town officers and told them what to do; they divided the town lands, always keeping a large tract for a common pasture or "commons"; they passed ordinances regarding the setting up of fences, the support and management of the town school, the building and repair of the meeting house, the salary of the minister, the care of the town poor. Only landowners could vote; but any townsman could speak his opinions on all matters.

From Massachusetts this town meeting government spread to all other New England colonies. It gave the people constant practice in managing their own affairs. It has been called "the best school of democracy the world ever saw."

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. The history of our country has been called a "march toward democracy." What steps were taken in Massachusetts Bay? In what ways was the government of Massachusetts Bay undemocratic? In what ways is our country more democratic now?

2. Why was it any advantage for those who could not vote at town meetings to be allowed to attend and discuss the questions that came up? Do citizens have any such means of talking things over to-day? How do we learn about what is going on in our town government? Do you think it would be an advantage for us to know more?

3. Organize as a town meeting for settlement of class affairs.

III. OTHER NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

Religious Intolerance in Massachusetts. — The Puritans had had to leave England because they could not agree with the government there. They had come into the wil-

derness to be able to work out their idea of a perfect state and church. At first they were very sure they knew just how the Bible meant them to do this; but soon, even in little Massachusetts, they began to differ among themselves. This, they feared, would ruin their great plan. So the majority tried to *force* all "dissenters" to think as they themselves did, and those who refused they drove out from among them.

Of all those banished from Massachusetts, **the most famous was Roger Williams.**

He was a learned minister at Salem, who preached that no government had the right to tell any man what to believe. This new idea of complete "freedom of conscience," or "soul-liberty," as Williams liked to call it, was very shocking to the leaders of Massachusetts Bay. He also had other troublesome notions. He insisted, for instance, that



ROGER WILLIAMS' STATUE at Providence. The book under his arm bears the title "Soul Liberty."

the lands in America did not belong to the king of England at all, and that the grants from him were of no use. The only right way to get land here, he said, was to buy it from the Indians.

The magistrates warned Williams several times that he must stop these dangerous teachings, and at last, in 1636, they banished him from the colony. In the dead of winter he made his perilous way through pathless woods to friendly Indians on Narragansett Bay. During the next summer, many followers flocked to him. He then bought land from

the Indians for a settlement, and named it *Providence*. There he set up a democratic government **which was pledged above all else not to meddle with any man's religion**. This settlement finally grew into the colony of **Rhode Island**, and it secured a liberal charter from England.

The colony of Connecticut grew out of another difference of opinion in Massachusetts. This time the disagreement



THOMAS HOOKER.

was about *matters of government*. The people in Massachusetts had won the right to choose their magistrates; but they continued to choose only from the aristocratic class of "gentlemen." Moreover, for several years, there were few *written laws*; and so the aristocratic magistrates decided matters just about as they liked. Many of them, indeed, claimed a kind of "divine right" to rule, much as King Charles did in England; and some even urged that a governor, once chosen, ought to hold office for life.

Many of the common people objected earnestly to these aristocratic ideas; and *Thomas Hooker*, minister of Newtown, preached startling sermons in favor of democracy. Said he, "The foundation of authority is laid in the consent of the governed," and again, "Those who choose magistrates have the right to set bounds to their authority." The good

Winthrop wrote to him that a democratic government could never be a good one because, in any group of people, "the best part is always the least." But Hooker answered stoutly: "In matters that concern the common good, a general council chosen by all . . . is most safe."

On the whole the aristocratic party kept control in Massachusetts; but, in the summer of 1635, Hooker's town



OLD CONNECTICUT GRIST MILL (New London), built in 1645 by a son of John Winthrop. — A recent photo. The mill was also a home.

and two other villages migrated overland to make new homes in the valley of the Connecticut. There they found wider and more fertile lands, and at the same time secured a chance to try their experiment of a more democratic government. In 1639 the men of the three towns came together in mass meeting and adopted "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," *the first written constitution ever*

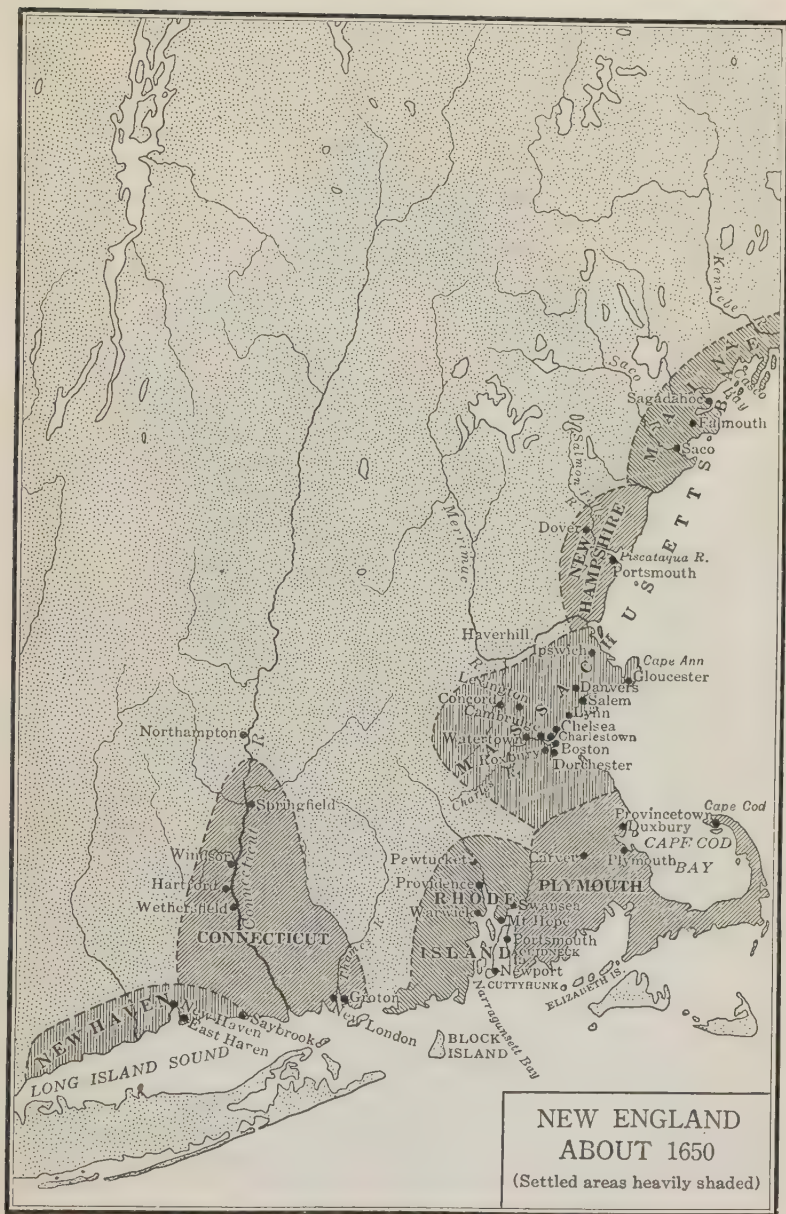
drawn up in America. That constitution permitted many men to vote who could not have done so in Massachusetts, and allowed a governor to serve only one year.

Twenty-five years later Connecticut secured a democratic charter — which added to it the little colony of **New Haven** at the mouth of the river. The founders of this colony had left Massachusetts because they thought the government there *not strict enough* in matters of religion.

The “**Great Puritan Migration**” continued until 1640, with thousands of immigrants almost every year. Between 1620 and 1640, we have seen five colonies formed in the southern part of little New England. By 1640, Massachusetts contained about 15,000 people, and the other four colonies about 3000 apiece.

At the same time settlers from England were coming also to *northern* New England, where they founded fishing and trading posts in **Maine** and **New Hampshire**. There were many disputes about boundaries between these settlements and Massachusetts. New Hampshire finally became a separate colony; but Maine became a part of Massachusetts, and remained so until long after the American Revolution.

The New England Confederation. — In 1640 in England King Charles found himself at last forced to call another Parliament, and, after a few months, Parliament and king drifted into a long civil war. New England had just been threatened by a serious war with the Pequod Indians. The colonists were of course unable now to get help from England; and England was too busy to interfere with anything they did for themselves. So, in 1643, delegates from the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven came together and *formed a league “for their mutual protection and welfare.”* (Rhode Island was not admitted, because the other colonies considered religious freedom dangerous.)



NEW ENGLAND ABOUT 1650

(Settled areas heavily shaded)

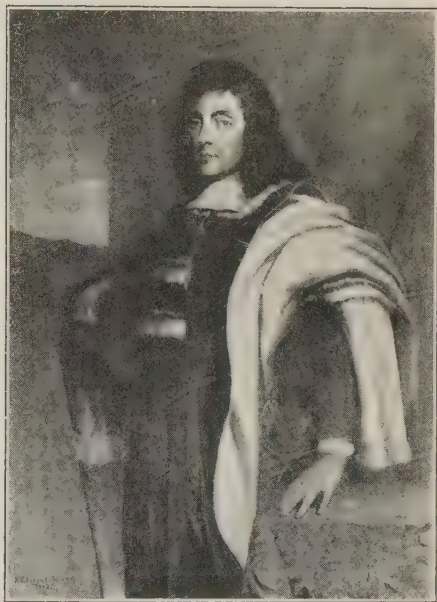


THE PURITAN. — St. Gaudens' statue, in Springfield, Massachusetts.

This New England Confederation adopted a *written constitution*, and did much for several years to protect the colonies against the Indians, who remained a constant danger. It also strengthened them against their white neighbors to the north and south, — the French and the Dutch. *It was the first attempt at union between any of the colonies.*

IV. THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN MARYLAND

While Puritans were founding colonies in New England, for the right to worship as they thought right, **the Catholics founded Maryland** for similar reasons. *George Calvert*, first Lord Baltimore, was a Catholic, and he obtained from King Charles I a charter and a grant of land north of Virginia, where he hoped to find a home for the persecuted Catholics of England. He died before he could carry out his plans ; but in 1632 his sons, *Cecilius* and *Leonard*, established the first settlement there.



CECILIUS CALVERT, — from a painting now in the Buffalo Art Gallery.

Religious Freedom. — Very wisely, and very liberally for that day, the Calverts did not try to keep their colony for Catholics alone. So many men of other sects flocked there. It was not always easy to keep the peace between these men of widely differing religions at a time when religious persecu-

tion was considered the correct thing; but finally in 1649 the Assembly of Maryland passed the famous "Act of Toleration," which promised freedom of worship to all Christians.

Maryland was the first successful *proprietary* colony. In Lord Baltimore's charter, the king gave him, and his sons after him, the right to govern the colony that should be founded on their grant — as Raleigh would have done if he had established a colony. But by 1632 the custom of calling together representative assemblies had become so well established in Virginia (p. 57), that *this Maryland charter provided also that no law could be made and no taxes laid without the consent of the landowners of the colony or of their representatives.*

FURTHER READINGS

You can learn more about these colonies in Brooks, *Stories of the Old Bay State*; Eggleston, *Our First Century*; Hale, *The Story of Boston*; Moore, *Pilgrim and Puritan*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*; Tappan, *American Hero Stories*. Accounts by the colonists themselves, and selections from their laws and records may be found in Barstow, *Explorers and Settlers*; Hart, *Colonial Children*; West, *Source Book in American History*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

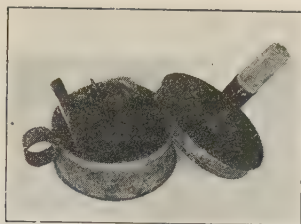
1. Make a list of the colonies we have studied. Where it is possible, give for each colony the motives of the founders, the year when the colony was founded, the names of the leaders, and the principal fact that stands out in connection with that colony.

2. Do you agree with Winthrop or Hooker?

3. Do we have "freedom of conscience" in the United States to-day? Explain your reasons for your opinion.

4. Does our government ever banish men for holding "dangerous opinions" as the Massachusetts government did?

5. Make a list (in your note books) of the ways American history was influenced by English history, so far as the story has gone. Add to this list, as new matters come up.



CANDLE AND TINDER BOX — containing
also flint and steel.

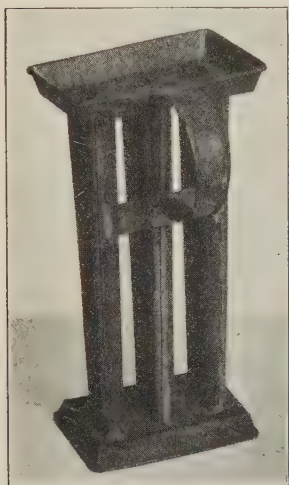
CHAPTER VII

HOW THE EARLY ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS LIVED

The First American Frontier. — When John Smith and William Bradford and John Winthrop planted their little settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth and Boston, they were *pioneers* on the first American frontier. Their rude cabins on the edge of the wilderness were outposts of European civilization in America. To the west stretched vast forests and rugged hills. These settlers on the coast knew nothing of the great river valleys and grassy plains beyond.

The story of the first years in all the colonies is a story of many hardships. Everything needed doing at once. Houses must be built, ground cleared and planted, the surrounding country explored. Protection against the Indians must be provided, and stores of game supplied for food. All this was doubly difficult because of the great amount of sickness. In Plymouth during the first winter there were sometimes only six or seven men at a time strong enough to work, and they had to spend their time caring for the sick. Everywhere the first houses were the rudest sort of shelters, usually of rough logs and bark, with dirt floors and with chimneys made of sticks daubed with mud. Some colonists even found shelter at first in dug-outs or caves in the side of a hill. The first crops, too, were grown among the stumps of the little clearings.

As time went on, things became easier and more comfortable. The first rude dwellings were replaced by more substantial houses of *hewn* logs. For some time, however, there were few saw mills; and so, commonly, the house



COLONIAL CANDLE MOLD —
one in every home.

floors were still made of thick slabs hewn by the axe from logs. Beds, tables, and chairs were made in the same way. Even plates, spoons, and bowls were whittled from the wood of the surrounding forest. The small openings for windows were covered with greased paper. Both house and furniture were often put together with wooden pegs, since nails were scarce and costly. The pioneer had to learn to get along without anything but that which he found at hand.

Even the best of the colonial homes lacked our most ordinary conveniences. There were no elec-

tric lights, of course, nor gas, — not even oil lamps, — but tallow candles made by dipping long wicks into melted tallow or by pouring that tallow into molds. Sometimes the only other light besides that of the fire was given by torches of pitchy pine knots. Matches had not been invented; and it was so difficult to light fires with the “flint and steel” that the coals were carefully covered with ashes each night, to keep them until morning. Instead of sewing machines, there were spinning wheels and looms on which the women and girls spun and wove flax and wool into yarn and cloth, which they then dyed and made by hand into clothing for the family — often, of course, in awkward shapes. Even the water used by the household was carried in buckets from the town pump or from a spring near by.

It would be interesting to look into the great room of a New England farmhouse of that day — which was at the same time both kitchen and living room. The great fireplace at one end was large enough to burn logs four and sometimes six feet long. The roaring fire served both to heat the house and cook the meals, for stoves were then un-



LIVING ROOM OF "BROADHEARTH," home of the first iron master in America, at Saugus, Massachusetts; built in 1646. The kettles were his own work.

known even in Europe. Kettles hung from pothooks and cranes above the fire, and in front of it were wooden settles with high backs to keep off draughts — for six feet away from the blazing hearth the chill of a New England winter prevailed. From the rafters hung chains of dried apples, ears of corn, smoked hams, and flitches of bacon.

Winter evenings about this fireplace were not idle; for every household had much work to be done, and boys and girls, as well as grown people, had their tasks. Here the

family cut up the apples for drying, husked the corn, and made candles and brooms. While the girls spun yarn and knit stockings, the boys whittled shingles, or hammered out nails and simple iron tools on a small anvil.

The food of the colonists, though plentiful after the first hard years, **was extremely simple**. Maize, or Indian corn, soon came to be the most important article of diet.



THE FIRST IRON CASTING made in America (1642). This is one of the kettles shown at the back of the fireplace on p. 91. Note the graceful shape. The kettle is now in the Lynn Library. In 1648, the Lynn iron works (Saugus) turned out eight tons a week.

In the early years it grew where European crops failed, and many times saved a colony from ruin. The colonists learned from the Indians how best to plant and cultivate it, and how to prepare it as food. Like the Indians, too, they planted beans and squashes and pumpkins in the same hills with the corn — the beans to climb the stalks, and the squash and pumpkin vines to run along the ground between the hills. They also gathered the wild native fruits, and planted orchards of English fruit trees.

The settlers learned also from the Indians the best ways to hunt game, to catch fish, and to gather lobsters, clams, and oysters. The natives taught them, too, how to make maple sugar. This was a real luxury, for sugar was scarce even in Europe.

Dress. — The poorer people, and those away from the coast, dressed for the most part in “homespun” — cloth woven on looms in the *home* out of thread that had been *spun*

there. Often, indeed, the men used jackets and breeches of deerskin. But the wealthier people wore finery imported from England. The good Puritans of New England at a very early date passed laws forbidding the wearing of beaver hats, silk hoods, great boots, or frivolous garments decorated with gold or silver lace. Such laws do not seem to have affected the rich very much; but it was a serious offense for a *poor* man (or one of the "meaner sort," as they would have put it in that day) to dress "above his station."

Blue Laws and Cruel Punishments. — Men were punished severely for many other things which seem to us too private to be regulated by law. They had to pay heavy fines for not attending church, or for breaking the Sabbath by taking a trip or by fishing or even by strolling about.

There were such "blue laws" in all the colonies, as in England; but *in New England they were enforced with especial strictness*. Nevertheless, in many ways, the Puritan laws were in advance of all the rest of the world. They tried to secure humane treatment for servants, and even for animals. Indeed, the men of Massachusetts called their first written code of laws (in 1641) a *Body of Liberties*.

Still the punishments inflicted by the colonists seem cruel to us, though they were less so than punishments for the same offenses in other countries at that time. The ordinary citizen might be publicly whipped, branded, or set in the pillory. A drunkard was compelled to wear a large red D sewed on his coat or hung about his neck. A scolding



woman or a gossip might be punished cruelly by the ducking stool. People of importance, if punished at all for such offenses, were let off with fines.

One sad blot on New England history is the witchcraft delusion. Almost everybody believed in witches, — people



who were supposed to have sold their souls to the devil and to be forced ever after to work his evil will. All sorts of strange and cruel methods were used to test whether a suspicious character were a witch. One of the most common was to throw the accused person into the water: if he did *not* sink, he was considered guilty, because the devil in that case must be helping him.

Trials for witchcraft were common in Europe, and there were some in nearly all the colonies. *But far the worst craze occurred in eastern Massachusetts.* In 1692 the people of Salem were seized with a sudden hysterical fear of witches.

People imagined they felt evil spirits pinching them, or that their cows were bewitched, or that they had been made ill by the "evil eye"; and they accused unpopular neighbors of causing these sufferings. Nineteen victims were executed before Salem recovered from its panic.

The lack of roads was a serious difficulty. At first almost the only means of communication within a colony was by water. Canoe-stealing was punished in early colonial days as sternly as horse-stealing was later on the western plains.

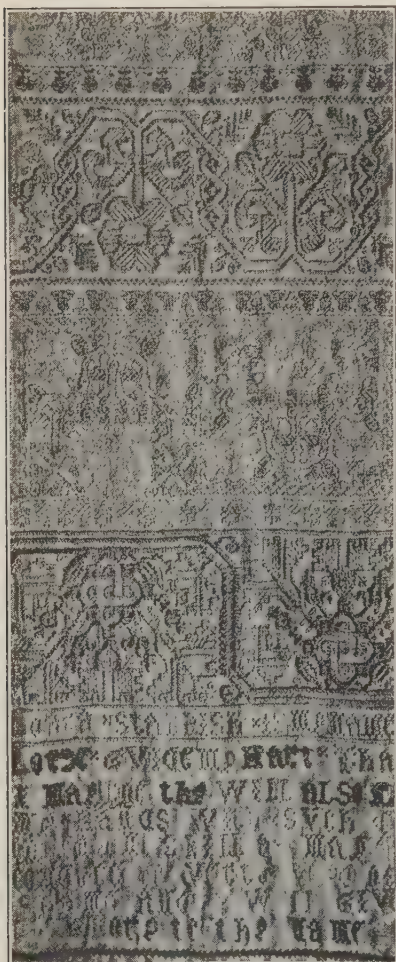
For a long time the only land roads were Indian paths, along which men traveled afoot or on horseback. Streams across these paths had to be waded, — which was very difficult at some times of the year. When Governor Winthrop journeyed from Boston to Plymouth, he was carried across streams on the backs of Indian guides, and the journey of thirty-seven miles took two hard days, though it can be made to-day in less than two hours. It took the good people of Newtown (p. 85) two weeks to journey through the woods from Massachusetts Bay to the Connecticut valley, — now only a few hours apart.

But the Puritans did find time to set up schools. It was a great discovery of theirs that if a state wished to be great, it must educate all its children. “The good education of children is of singular behoofe and benefit to any commonwealth,” is the beginning of one of their famous laws. And as early as 1636, the General Court of Massachusetts set up a college to be supported by public taxes and governed by public officers. This institution was soon afterward named *Harvard*, in honor of the good minister John Harvard, who left it his valuable library by his will.

Only some five years later, the Massachusetts legislature decreed that every town of *fifty* families *must* provide what we call a “common school” for its children — under penalty of heavy fines — and that every town of a *hundred* families must support what we should call a high school, “to fit youth for the university.” This splendid attempt of the Puritans was the beginning of the great American plan that the state shall provide free education for *all* its children, from the mother’s knee to the highest university degree. To be sure, the New England villages were too poor to carry out the plan very successfully. But the Puritan *idea* of *one complete system of public education* did not die, and at a later time it came to full bloom in America.

The Massachusetts laws about public common schools were quickly adopted in the rest of the New England colonies.

But outside New England the idea of educating everyone grew more slowly. The wealthy planters of the South of course had private tutors for their sons, and often sent them to English universities. Very early, too, Virginia established a college known as *William and Mary*; but she made no state provision for educating the children of the poor. As late as 1671, Governor Berkeley of Virginia in an official report to the English Government wrote: "I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy . . . into the world, and printing has divulged them . . . God keep us from both!"



LOREA STANDISH'S SAMPLER, now in Pilgrim Hall.

Even the splendid New England school system, however, was planned only for the boys. The girls went only to the "dame schools," if they were sent to school at all. There the little children

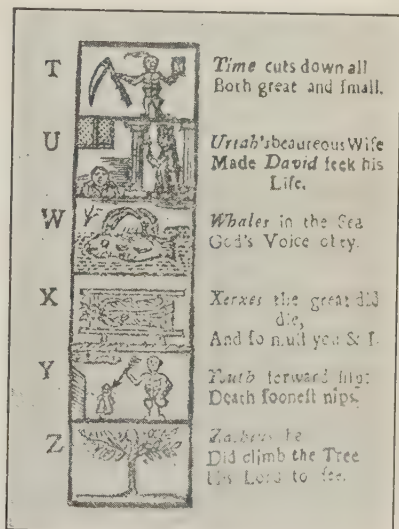
learned their letters from *horn books* — printed sheets of paper slipped between two pieces of transparent horn and worn about the neck. There, too, they were taught “manners,” and the girls were trained to sew neatly and to knit. Every little girl had to make a “sampler,” on which she embroidered the alphabet in cross-stitch, and worked fanciful designs. The sampler on the opposite page was made by Lorea Standish, a Mayflower Daughter. Only the lower part of the elaborate design is shown here. The words at the bottom read:

Lorea Standish is my name

Lord guide my Heart that I
may do thy Will
And fill my hands with such
convenient Skill
As will conduce to Virtue void
of Shame,
And I will give the Glory to
thy Name.

In some places the girls were kept in school long enough to learn spelling, and the catechism from the famous *New England Primer*, almost the only *children's* school book of colonial days. The boys learned arithmetic — from examples given by the teacher; and those that went on to “grammar school” studied Latin. Lessons in geography and history were unheard of outside of college.

And the only books read by colonial children were as different as can be imagined from the lovely illustrated books of fairy tales and adventure that our children enjoy. They

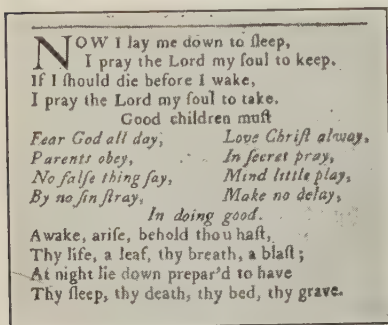


AN "ALPHABET" PAGE FROM THE OLD-EST KNOWN EDITION OF THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER, the first American textbook not made up wholly of extracts from the Bible; published about 1680.

contained little, indeed, except lurid descriptions of the fire and brimstone that awaited careless children in the next world.

On the whole, colonial boys and girls were brought up much more strictly than the children of to-day. Their hours

at school were as long as daylight permitted — from seven to five in summer — and school was held six days in the week. At home there was always much work for them to do; and New England boys and girls, especially, had little freedom. At table they stood, ate what was served them, and never spoke unless spoken to. At meeting, as the long Sunday service was called,



A PAGE FROM A 1781 EDITION OF THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER — a century after the first edition. The "evening prayer," however, at the top, appeared in the first edition, also.

they sat stiffly for hours in the bare unheated meeting house. The girls sat primly with their mothers on the women's side. The place for boys was on benches in the gallery, where the tithing man could rap them sharply with his rod if they were inattentive.

In 1650 Boston was the largest town in the English colonies. Twenty years earlier it had been a struggling settlement of rude log cabins at the foot of its three wooded hills. Now along the narrow crooked streets which curved about the base of the hills, or wound part way up their slopes, stood two-storied or three-storied frame houses, with peaked or gambrelled roofs. A few more substantial dwellings, built of brick or stone, were set in large gardens, and furnished with European luxuries, — heavily carved furniture upholstered in Russian leather, rich rugs and tapestries, fine linens, and glass, china, and silverware.

The harbor was lined with wharves, where stately English and colonial vessels landed such stores, and loaded return cargoes of lumber, potash, salt-fish, and furs. The entrance to the harbor was commanded by a fort manned with small cannon. On the Common were herded the cattle. On the streets would be found a strange mixture of people: good Puritan gentlemen in their "sad-colored" garments of gray

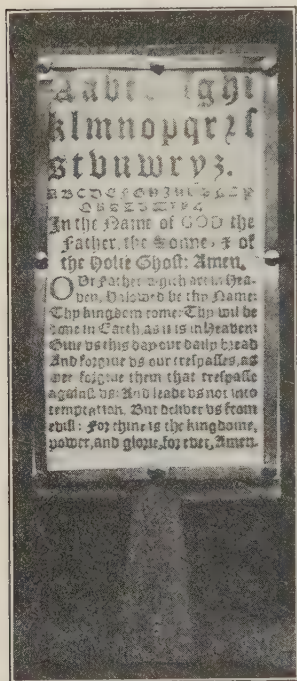


STANDISH HOUSE at Duxbury, Massachusetts. — A typical New England home of its time. (The date on the chimney is 1666.) Built by a son of Miles Standish.

or brown, with white collars and steeple hats; gayer gallants in velvet and lace and high rolled boots; workingmen in leather jerkins and aprons; foreign sailors with bright sashes and long earrings; an occasional negro slave belonging to some wealthy merchant; scantily clad Indians stalking haughtily among the lodges of the white men.

For a long time, there were strict lines between "upper" and "lower" classes. We have seen how even in New England the laws provided that working people must not dress

above their rank, and how punishments for poor men were more severe and more humiliating than for the rich. Seats in "meeting" were assigned also according to social rank.



A HORN BOOK, used as a primer in early Puritan Schools. See p. 97.

The term "gentleman" continued to be used, as in England, to mean a person of wealth and importance. Only such men were given the title of "Mr." — which stood for *Master*. Men of skilled trades (like carpenters and masons) and the small farmers were called "Goodman." And common day laborers and servants were spoken of simply by their first names without any prefix. Very different persons would have been meant by the names, Mr. Brown, Goodman Brown, and John Brown.

In Virginia and Maryland, such distinctions were even more marked. The gentlemen owners of the large plantations were the ruling class. The small farmers were gradually crowded back toward the mountains on the less valuable lands. Servants, by years

of industry, might work up into the small-farmer class, but seldom any further.

But, for several reasons, America was moving slowly away from Old-World ideas about "classes" toward democracy and equal opportunity.

1. *The early immigrants were selected men.* They had more energy and independence than the neighbors they left behind in the Old World. Otherwise they would not have

sought new homes amid such hardships and perils. Such men could not be kept down easily by old ideas.

2. *Frontier life* in a new country helped to put settlers upon an equal footing. In pioneer districts men are judged more by what they can do themselves than by what their fathers have done. So laboring men came gradually to be held in more respect.

3. *Plenty of free land* also helped the growth toward democracy. At first the aristocratic classes tried to keep down the wages of working men by law, as was the custom in England in that day. But if a carpenter were told to accept too low a wage, he merely moved off into the wilderness and took up a farm. Of course this meant better wages and a better position not for him alone but for *all* laborers.

FURTHER READINGS

Besides the books already referred to in chapters iv and vi the following have good accounts of life in early colonial times: Andrews, *Colonial Folk Ways*; Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days* and *Home Life in Colonial Days*; Jenks, *When America Was New*; Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School Books*; Lamprey, *Days of the Colonists*; Tappan, *Letters from Colonial Children*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. By this time you should be able to add several things to your list of what the white men learned from the Indians.

2. Make a list of the things you use commonly in your home to-day which must have been unknown in colonial times.

3. Make as complete a list as you can of the things made in a colonial home, which are now made in a factory.

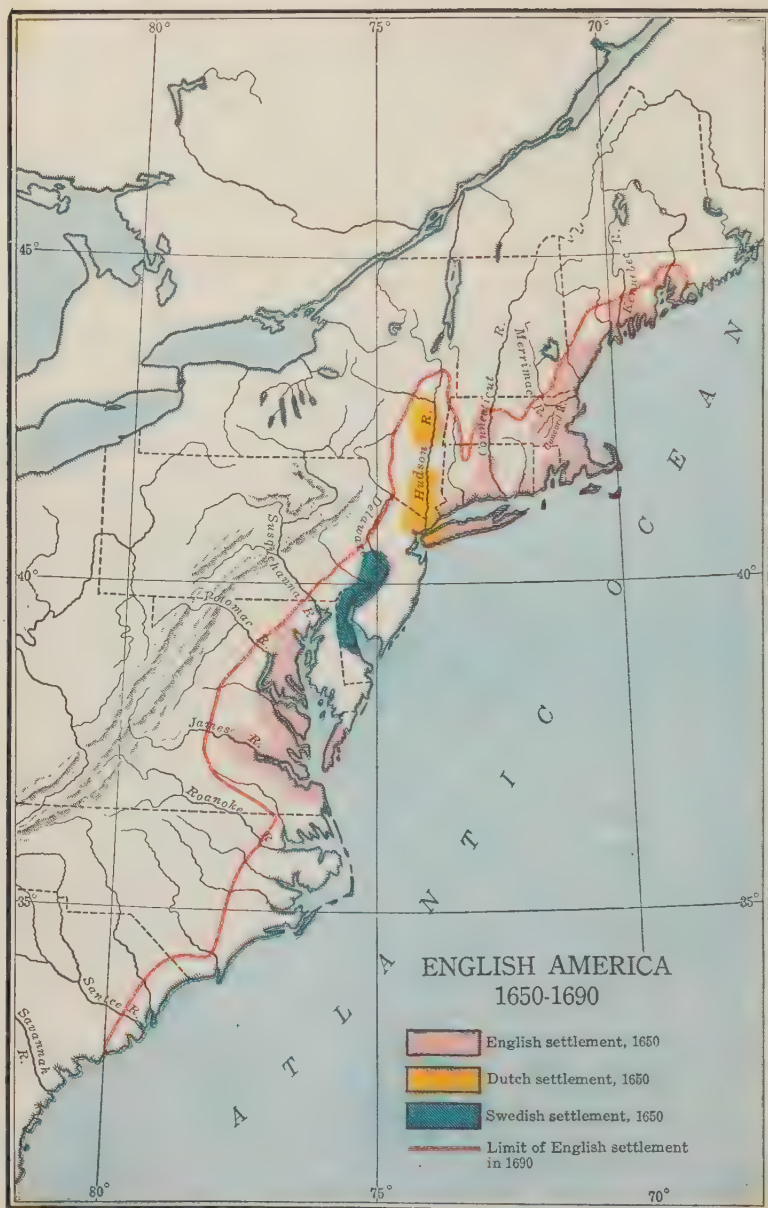
4. Was the establishment of public schools in New England another step toward democracy? Explain your opinion. Keep in your notebooks a list of all the things you find which have helped to make our country democratic.

5. After you have read what you can find on colonial life, imagine yourself living in colonial times and write a letter to a friend, describing either a trip by water, a trip by land, a visit to a big plantation, a visit to your Boston cousin, taking up a new home on the frontier, or your first day at school: do not put in anything that a colonial boy or girl might not have said.



THE BOSTON LATIN SCHOOL.

This school dates back to early colonial days, and it is to-day a famous Boys' High School. The building also was put up in the colonial period. This picture was made in 1845. Could you be sure, from looking at the picture, that it was not made in the twentieth century?





PENN'S FIRST HOME IN AMERICA, —still standing in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH AMERICA FROM 1660 TO 1700

England Extends Her Colonies and Tries to Control Them

From 1620 to 1640 the bitter quarrels between king and Parliament had kept the English government from paying much attention to what was going on in the colonies. Then, in 1641, that long quarrel grew into civil war (p. 86). The Puritan Parliament, with its disciplined army led by Oliver Cromwell, defeated the king's forces, beheaded the king, and from 1649 to 1660 ruled over England. But **in 1660**, weary of army government, the English people called back to the throne Charles II, the son of the dead king. **This new government showed a warm interest in colonial affairs.**

I. EXPANSION BY CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

Between New England and Maryland were several small settlements on the Delaware and Hudson, which had been founded by the Dutch and Swedes (see map opposite). The little country of Holland was rapidly becoming a dangerous rival of England in commerce. For some time the Dutch had carried on a flourishing East India trade. In 1609, soon

after the founding of Jamestown, they hired the English navigator, Henry Hudson, to hunt for a westward passage to the Indies. He found the mouth of the Hudson River instead, sailed up that river as far as where Albany now stands, and brought back glowing reports of a wealth of lumber, furs, and fish.



REPLICA OF HUDSON'S *HALF MOON*, built for the Hudson-Fulton celebration in 1909.

Holland granted this district to the Dutch West India Company, and a profitable trade with the Indians was begun at once. But it was not until 1623 that the first permanent settlement was made in the *New Netherlands*. The people of Holland were fairly comfortable and contented at home, and it was not easy to find men who were

willing to go out and establish themselves with their families in the New World. Besides, the Company was unwilling to share with the colonists the profits of the fur trade, or to give them a voice in their own government. So the colony grew slowly. Nevertheless, it was strong enough by 1655 to conquer the smaller Swedish settlements that had been founded at the mouth of the Delaware.

New Netherlands becomes New York. — The English had never given up their claims to this territory, but their troubles at home had prevented their keeping the Dutch from occupying it. In 1664, Charles II granted it to his brother James, Duke of York, who gave it the name New York and sent out a fleet to conquer it. New Netherlands could not meet such an attack and was forced to surrender.

An English governor was sent over, who tried at first to rule as the Dutch had done, without an Assembly. But the people became so loud in their demands for the same rights



DUTCH SHIPS OFF THE LOW COAST OF HOLLAND. — From a seventeenth-century print reproduced in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Houghton Mifflin Co.).



THE EARLIEST KNOWN PICTURE OF NEW AMSTERDAM (New York). — From an old Dutch print.



AN OLD DUTCH FARM HOUSE ON STATEN ISLAND — from a photo.



PHILADELPHIA IN 1717. — a picture by Peter Cooper, one of its citizens. This was the first city in America built with its streets in squares. See also p. 109.

as other English colonies, that they were finally granted a representative government.

The district was too large, however, to be ruled as one colony. The Duke of York gave part of it, *New Jersey*, to some friends to repay their losses in the English civil war; and, later, *Delaware* and *Pennsylvania* were granted to William Penn as a home for the Quakers. The colonies of this whole group are usually called the *Middle Colonies*. The soil was fertile, and large farms were cultivated by the labor of bond servants. Grain was raised for export to the Southern colonies and to the West Indies.

The Quaker colony of Pennsylvania was particularly important, because it added one more to the colonies that **stood for religious freedom.**

The Quakers, or Friends, were one of the many new religious sects of the seventeenth century. They were especially disliked by the government and church in the Old World. They thought it wrong to take an oath, and so refused to swear allegiance to the king. Their religion forbade them to use violence; so they would not fight in the king's armies. They believed that one man was just as good as another in the sight of God, and so refused to take off their hats in the presence of the nobility or of the king himself. Moreover, they often believed themselves inspired by an "Inner Light" to criticize preachers and magistrates, and even to interrupt them at their duties.

For many years, Quakers were not treated any more kindly in America than they had been in England. Every colony except Rhode Island refused to admit them. Massachusetts Bay imprisoned them, and even hanged four who persisted in returning after they had been banished.

Finally, several Quakers bought a part of New Jersey from the proprietors and started a settlement there. One of them was *William Penn*, a young man of very fine Eng-

lish family, who had been converted to the Quaker beliefs while he was a student at Oxford. Penn was not satisfied with the little New Jersey colony; he believed that if the Quakers had a more favorable location, they might work



WILLIAM PENN at twenty-two,—a portrait painted before he became a Quaker.

out a splendid liberal experiment in government. He had some influence with the King, because his father, a famous English Admiral, had lent the government large sums of money; and so he persuaded Charles to grant him not only all the fine domain of Pennsylvania, but also a smaller tract on the coast, which became known as Delaware.

Penn had noble plans for a colony; and in Pennsylvania he tried out what he called a “Holy Experiment.”

His settlement was begun in 1681, and it prospered from the first. The soil was fertile; the colonists were thrifty and industrious; and Penn’s dealings with the Indians were so fair and just that there were no uprisings during his time. He allowed the settlers a large amount of self-government and a broad religious toleration. Any Christian could vote if he held a small amount of property, and all men “believing in one God” were to be allowed to worship in their own way.

This toleration brought a great many colonists from many different parts of Europe. There were already some settle-



© J. L. G. Ferris

PENN'S WELCOME AT HIS FIRST VISIT TO HIS COLONY.

From Penn's Message to the Indians. —

"Now the great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein. But I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends, — else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world."

From Penn's Statements about His Plan for a Colony. —

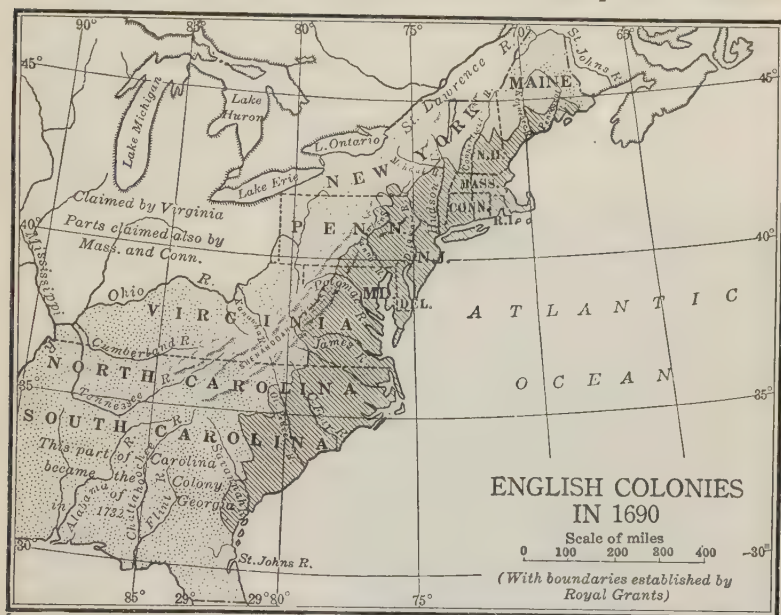
"The nations want a precedent" [example] "for a just and righteous government. . . . The people must rule. . . . I propose to leave myself and my successors no power of doing mischief — that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." (This refers to the fact that his charter to the settlers left little power in his own hands.) And to the expected settlers he wrote: "You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people."

From Other of His Sayings. —

"There can be no friendship where there is no freedom."

"We can never be the better for our religion if our neighbor be the worse for it."

ments of Dutch, Swedes, and Finns in the district when the grant was made to Penn. Now, besides the English Quakers, colonists poured in from Germany, France, Wales, and Ireland. Many German Protestants who were persecuted at home by their Catholic rulers (p. 46) settled in groups in western Pennsylvania, where some of their quaint customs



Notice that the settled area is only about a third of the *undisputed* grants; and of course the western half of the "settled" part was very thinly inhabited.

survive among the "Pennsylvania Dutch" of to-day. In 1700, less than twenty years after its founding, Penn's colony stood third in size, just next to Virginia and Massachusetts; and sixty years later, Philadelphia was the largest and richest city in the colonies.

Maps of the colonies were often misleading, and English officials were often very ignorant of American affairs. So perhaps it is not strange that, by some blunder, the territory given to Penn overlapped in part the region given long before to Lord Baltimore.

Pennsylvania and Maryland disputed for many years about the boundary between them. Not long before the American Revolution, the line was finally fixed by two English surveyors. This "**Mason and Dixon's Line**" afterward became famous in our history as the dividing line between free and slave territory.

Other new colonies were started south of Virginia on land claimed (but not settled) by both France and Spain. The two *Carolinas* were founded soon after 1660 by a group of proprietors who had received a grant from Charles II. But they soon became royal colonies, like Virginia. North

Carolina had splendid forests, and exported lumber, tar, and turpentine to England. In South Carolina, rich planters grew tobacco and rice on wide plantations worked by negro slaves.



JAMES OGLETHORPE in old age in England, fifty years after he founded Georgia, — drawn by himself.

Georgia, the thirteenth and last colony, was founded much later (1732) on the border of Spanish Florida. Its founder was *James Oglethorpe*, a gallant English general, who had come to feel great pity for the poor debtors who filled English jails (p. 63).

He wished to pay the debts of as many as possible and send them to a new colony where they might have land of their own and a fair chance to begin life anew. For this purpose he raised large sums of

money from his own fortune and from the fortunes of generous friends, and then secured a grant of land for his settlement from the king (George II).

Georgia at once became a refuge for other oppressed people also. In particular, many South German Protestants fled there to escape religious persecution. Oglethorpe gave out land freely in small farms. He tried to keep out slavery; but in this he failed. After a few years, Georgia became a royal colony, and wealthy planters began to settle there, with servants and slaves. The small farmers could not compete with these newcomers, and were forced back to the poorer land of the foothills. The fertile coast region became a district of big plantations, like the similar district in South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

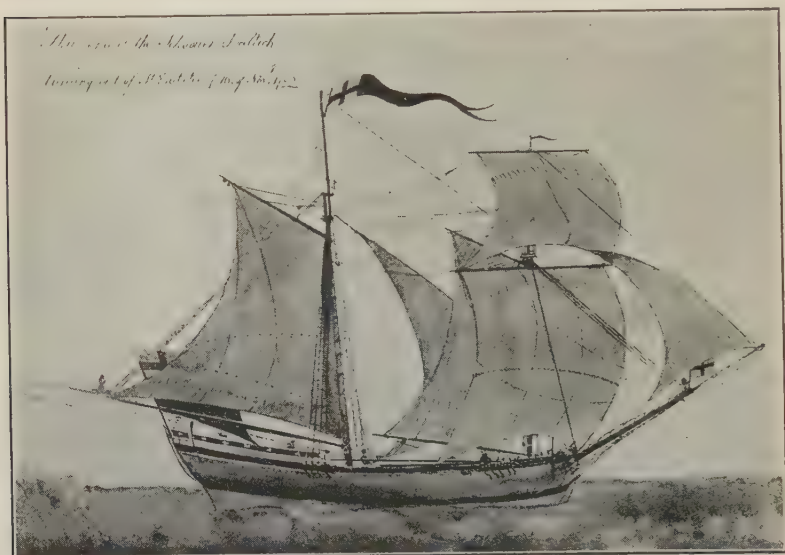


SAVANNAH when about fifty years old. Oglethorpe, like Penn, laid out his city with the streets at right angles.

The period after 1660 was marked by expansion also *to the west and by rapid growth of population*. Pioneers moved further up the river valleys and toward the mountains. New immigrants came in large numbers, not only from England but from the European continent. The two patches of English settlement on the coast *in 1660* had grown *by 1690* into a solid band of territory stretching from the Penobscot to the Savannah and running back to the foothills of the mountains. The population had risen from 60,000 to 250,000. Half had been born in Europe.

II. ENGLAND'S PLANS FOR CLOSER CONTROL

England's new interest in her colonies led her to question whether English merchants were getting all the benefits they should from colonial trade. In order to increase their



THE *BALTICK* (English trading vessel) sailing from the Dutch West Indies, 1765, but built in Massachusetts. — From a water color now in Essex Institute, Salem.

profits, Parliament passed some new laws, called **Navigation Acts**. The principal provisions of those acts (from 1660 to 1700) were:

1. All goods must be carried to and from the colonies in English and colonial ships.
2. Some important products of the colonies (like tobacco) could be exported only to England, and not to foreign countries.
3. Products of foreign countries were not to be carried directly to the colonies, but must be taken first to England.

The first of these laws was not so unpopular as the others. It kept ships of other nations (especially the Dutch) from landing cargoes at colonial ports; but on the other hand it encouraged colonial ship-building, which soon became a leading American industry and continued so until our Civil War. (Read Longfellow's "Building of the Ship.") By 1763 one third of all *England's* ships were built in the colonies, most of them in New England; and merchant ships owned and manned by colonials themselves were to be found in all the world's ports.

But the colonists found the other navigation laws very annoying. They wished to be able to carry their tobacco direct to a foreign port, where they could get what they wanted in exchange, and where perhaps they could make better bargains than with the English merchants. Moreover, they disliked to pay the small duties that some of these laws placed on their trade, since they felt that only their own Assemblies had any right to tax them.

Accordingly, the English government found it just about impossible to enforce the Navigation Acts. The governors were afraid that, if they did enforce them, the Colonial Assemblies might refuse to pay them their salaries. So England wanted some new means of control.

A Council for Trade and Plantations had been appointed in England to study colonial questions; and this Council finally **recommended that great changes be made in the colonial government.** In the first place, they believed that all the governors should be appointed by the king, instead of some of them being appointed by proprietors (as in Maryland and Pennsylvania) or by the people, as in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. In the second place, they thought the Assemblies had too much power. In the third place, they said it would be better to unite the many little colonies into two or three great provinces.

**For a While the Right of the Colonists to Their Assemblies
Was in Danger. This Led to Resistance
in both Virginia and New England**

Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. — Governor Berkeley of Virginia kept one Assembly for sixteen years (1660-1676) without calling a new election. During that time the colony had grown rapidly toward the west; but the demo-



ALL THAT REMAINED OF JAMESTOWN FROM 1676 (when Bacon's army captured and burned it) UNTIL 1907. This is the tower at the back of the church. You can see it in the "restoration" facing p. 56.

cratic frontier had had no chance to send representatives to the Assembly. The governor and the aristocratic planters of the older section managed things to suit themselves, though the western settlers protested vigorously.

Things came to a head in 1676, when the governor refused to send troops to protect the frontier during an Indian uprising. Nathaniel Bacon, a young planter whose servants had been massacred, placed himself at the head of an army of frontiersmen and put down the Indians. Then he and his men turned upon the governor himself, and refused to

return to their homes until they were promised a new Assembly and other reforms. The governor was compelled to make the promises; but unfortunately, before they could take real effect, Bacon died suddenly of a fever, and the rebellion came to an end for lack of a leader.

Soon afterward, Berkeley was recalled to England because of his cruelty toward the conquered rebels. Regular elections for Assemblies were then reëstablished, and some other reforms were made. But the chief reason why we remember Bacon's Rebellion is because one hundred years before the American Revolution (1676, 1776) the colonists of Virginia showed what their independent spirit would lead them to if they were oppressed.

The Rule of Andros in New England. — In New England, a few years later, a serious attempt was made by the English king to do away with Assemblies altogether. The Council for Trade and Plantations found that Massachusetts had been behaving in a most independent manner. The people of that colony had not allowed the Church of England worship to be held among them; they had coined money; they had persisted in openly disobeying the Navigation Acts; and they had treated with scant courtesy the Commissioners that England sent to inquire into these matters. Accordingly, in 1684, King Charles II induced his courts to take away the charter of the colony.

To coin money is permitted only to the supreme power, the sovereign power, in a country. In the United States, our Constitution forbids the States to coin money: only the National gov-

ernment may do that. But the colonists were in great need of currency to do their business with; and, during England's Civil War, when the government there was not likely to interfere, Massachusetts had ventured to



A PINE TREE SHILLING. From the original in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The XII means *twelve pence*. Note the spelling of "Massachusetts." There is no allusion to England's authority.

coin silver shillings. These are known as *the Pine Tree shillings*, from a rude engraving of a tree on the back. You will find a pleasant story about this coinage in Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair*.

Just at this time King Charles died, and was followed on the throne by his even more despotic brother, James, Duke of York, who is known thereafter as James II. James now sent out Sir Edmund Andros as a royal governor, with instructions to unite under his rule all the New England colonies as well as New York and New Jersey. (James, of course, was already the *proprietor* of New York, which became a *royal* colony when he came to the throne.)

Thus, for a short time, half of all English America was combined under one despotic government. The people were to elect no Assemblies: Governor Andros and his *appointed* Council made laws and levied taxes. Even the New England town meetings were permitted only once a year, and only for the purpose of choosing town officers.

The people of New England did not submit meekly to this tyranny, and some gallant patriots suffered cruelly for refusing bravely to pay Andros' taxes. New England, however, was not yet strong enough to rebel successfully; but fortunately James was trying also to play the tyrant at home, and the English people soon drove him from his throne.

Then Parliament invited his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, to come from Holland to take his place. And before these *elected* rulers were crowned, they were compelled to sign the famous Bill of Rights, promising that they and their successors would preserve the liberties of the English people. This successful uprising in England is called **The Glorious Revolution of 1688**. Ever since, English kings have ruled subject to the will of Parliament.

As soon as a ship entered Boston harbor, bringing news

of this English revolution, the people of Boston and the neighboring towns rose up and made Andros prisoner. Then they set up their old governments again. They declared themselves loyal to the new king, and claimed that their uprising had been merely a part of the English revolution against the deposed tyrant.

III. REARRANGEMENTS IN THE COLONIES AFTER 1688

Charter Colonies. — King William gave Massachusetts a new charter in 1691. This document united to her the settlements in Maine and Plymouth — which had never had charters of their own — and it restored the old Massachusetts Assembly. The governor, however, was hereafter appointed by the king, as in Virginia.

Rhode Island and Connecticut were more fortunate. The lawyers of the king told him that the old charters of these colonies were still in force, because Andros had merely overthrown them for a time by violence, not by the action of a law court. And so, down to the American Revolution, these colonies continued to elect their governors as well as their Assemblies.

When Andros went to Connecticut to take away its charter, the government of the colony protested vigorously and the dispute lasted until after candle light. Suddenly the lights were blown out; and when they were relighted, the charter had vanished from the table. A young Connecticut officer, Captain Wadsworth, had carried it off, to hide it in a hollow oak tree. There it remained in safety until Andros was overthrown.



THE CHARTER OAK. Not long after this photo was taken, the venerated tree was blown down in a great storm.

Proprietary and Royal Colonies. — Down to the Revolution, too, Maryland remained a “proprietary” colony, with its governors appointed by the Baltimore family; and, in like manner, Pennsylvania and Delaware had governors appointed by the Penns. Except these three colonies and the three New England “charter” colonies, all the others soon became “royal” colonies, with governors appointed by the king.

But the most important part of *each* colony’s government was the **representative Assembly**. And from the “Glorious Revolution” down to the beginning of the American Revolution, more than eighty years later, *no English ruler tried to interfere with the meetings or powers of these bodies.*

In other ways, however, the English government did continue to show great zeal in administering colonial affairs. This zeal was not always wise, and it was annoying to the colonists. The kings often vetoed laws passed by colonial Assemblies, and Parliament made many new regulations about colonial commerce. These laws helped some colonial industries, no doubt, but they discouraged and hampered the ones that conflicted with English manufactures. There were frequent quarrels, too, between colonial Assemblies and royal governors, when the governor tried to carry out instructions unpopular with the Americans. And here the colonists had rather the whip-hand. The Assembly paid the governor’s salary; and this salary was likely to be very slow in coming unless the governor did about as the Assembly wished.

England and America Had Different Ideas about All This

To the English people the action of their government seemed right and proper. What were the colonies for, said they, if not to bring commercial benefits to the mother country, in return for her care and protection! And

why should English colonies object to a reasonable amount of control by the English government, which, they argued, could take into consideration the welfare of the whole scattered English empire better than any one local Assembly could! Moreover, they claimed truthfully that English colonies enjoyed far more liberty than those of any other country. No French or Spanish or Dutch colony had an elected Assembly, or any part in governing itself; nor did any of them have anywhere near as much freedom in trading with the outside world as English colonies had — even if the English Navigation laws had been obeyed.

The colonists saw all this matter in a different light. They had faced courageously the risks of the early years in America: they had conquered the wilderness, defended themselves against the savages, and become self-supporting and prosperous — all without aid from the English government. While they were weak, they had been left to take care of themselves; now that they were growing strong, the mother country was ready to look after them. It was as if a father had let his sons grow to manhood as best they could, caring for themselves, and *then* should try to tell them how to manage their business and spend their incomes — and should even claim part of the income for himself.

In spite of these differences, one thing in particular bound the colonists to England for some seventy years more. From 1689 to 1763 England and France were almost constantly at war, both in the Old World and the New, struggling for colonial empire. France allowed her colonies no self-government at all. So English colonies dreaded French conquest; and, as long as there seemed any danger of it, they clung to England for protection.

FURTHER READING

Fuller accounts of the later colonies and of the new English policy toward her colonies are to be found in Eggleston, *Our First Century* and *Life in the Eighteenth Century* (especially good for

Georgia); Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; Hart, *Colonial Children and Source Book*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*; Sparks, *Expansion of the United States*; Tappan, *American Hero Stories and Letters from Colonial Children*. Good topics to read for reports to the class are: The Dutch patroons in New Netherlands; Governor Stuyvesant; Bacon's Rebellion.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Name the thirteen English colonies on the Atlantic Coast in order from north to south, and draw them upon an outline map.
2. Complete the table of English colonies started in chapter vi.
3. How does our government deal with men whose religion does not allow them to fight? Try to find out something about the work of the Quakers in the World War, and their work in Russia and Germany since the war.
4. What reasons did England have for trying to control the trade of her colonies?



EARLY NEW ORLEANS. — From an old French print.



FATHER MARQUETTE LANDING ON THE SHORES OF LAKE MICHIGAN. — A carving above the entrance to the Marquette Building in Chicago.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH GAIN AND LOSE AN EMPIRE IN AMERICA

**The French were Splendid Explorers
But They were not Good Colonists**

I. THE STORY OF FRENCH SETTLEMENT

In 1604 Samuel Champlain, "The Father of New France," helped to found the first permanent French colony in America in what is now *Nova Scotia*; and in 1608 (the year after Jamestown was founded), he established *Quebec* on its high cliffs overlooking the St. Lawrence. Champlain was governor of New France from that year until 1635. He headed exploring expeditions up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, and earnestly endeavored to gain the friendship of the Algonkin Indians near by. He hoped in this way to fill the king's treasury with the profits of the rich fur trade, to convert the Indians to the Catholic religion, and to extend the boundaries of the French colonial empire.

These were the motives of Champlain's successors as well. They sought furs in the forests of the frozen North,

as the Spanish had sought gold in the mines of Mexico and Peru, and with nearly as rich returns. Wherever the trader



PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN, now in McGill University Library.

went, the missionary followed, unwearied in his efforts to convert the Indians; and then came the soldier, building forts in the wilderness to hold it for the great monarch of France.

To the south, French progress was checked at first by a relentless enemy, the Iroquois (p. 6). Champlain had early won the hatred of this strongest of the Indian peoples by befriending their enemies, the Algonkins. The Iroquois controlled the Hudson valley and the south

shore of Lake Erie. So they prevented the French from reaching by that route the wide valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

But farther to the west the French found fewer obstacles. They traced their way up the branches of the St. Lawrence until, led by Indian guides, they found short portages over which they could carry their canoes into the waters of Lake Nipissing and so into the more westerly of the Great Lakes. Then they turned south, paddling up the streams that flowed into Lake Michigan from that direction, until other portages brought them to rivers flowing southward.

Thus they came finally into the vast basin of the Mississippi. The trader *Joliet* and his companion, the brave missionary *Father Marquette*, explored far down the great river itself. But it was the dauntless *La Salle* who, after many years of splendid endeavor, finally followed the stream



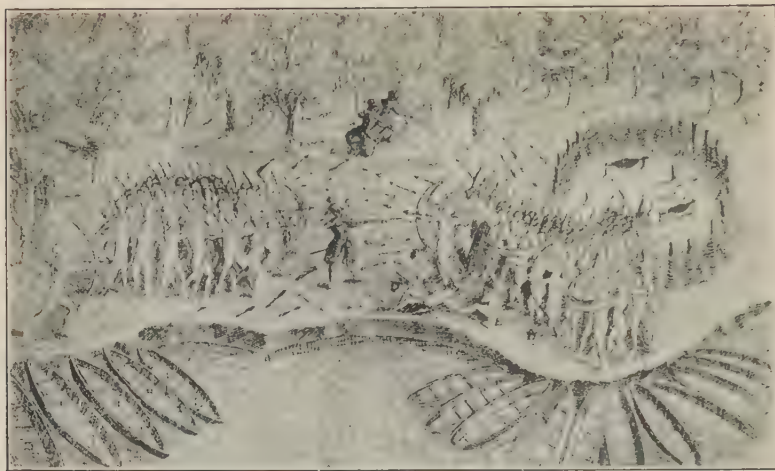
Courtesy of Canadian Pacific R. R.

CHAMPLAIN'S WELCOME AT THE SITE OF QUEBEC. — From the pageant in 1908 at the Tercentenary celebration of Quebec's founding.



Courtesy of Canadian Pacific R. R.

DISCOVERY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN, 1609. From a painting by J. W. Kelly.



CHAMPLAIN'S BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS ON THE SHORE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — drawn by himself for his account of his explorations, in which the name Lake Champlain was used for the first time.



NIAGARA FALLS IN 1697. — A drawing by Father Hennepin, a French missionary and explorer.

to its mouth, planting there the standard of France and claiming the whole interior of the continent in the name of his King Louis — for whom he named it *Louisiana* (1682).

A portage is the name given to a short distance between two streams, or around a rapids, over which a canoe has to be carried before it can continue its journey. Trading posts grew up at many of these portages. Do you see why? Notice those shown on the map after p. 126. What ones are important cities to-day?

The French had hoped that the "Great River" might lead them to the Pacific. Disappointed in this, they still did not give up their search for a route to the Western Sea. Up the Missouri they went, and up the Saskatchewan, far to the north, ever following westward till their way was barred by high mountains to which they gave the name *Rocky Mountains*. They never reached the Pacific; but they founded many forts and missions in this far Northwest, and sent back quantities of valuable furs to Quebec and Montreal.

**In Spite of these Heroic Beginnings, Later
French Settlement was Disappointing**

Only two important groups of settlements grew up in all this vast French dominion. (1) At the mouth of the Mississippi, was the *province of Louisiana*, with broad plantations and the thriving port of New Orleans. (The quaint old "French quarter" of that city is still a place of great interest.) (2) In *Nova Scotia* (or Acadie, as the French called it) and along the shores of the *St. Lawrence in Canada*, French peasants farmed the estates of great lords, to whom the French king had given the land, much as the peasants in France farmed their lords' estates. Montreal and Quebec were gay with the balls of these noble seigneurs, whose wives

and daughters dressed in the latest French fashions and followed the doings of the gay French life of their time.

Between these two settled regions of the north and south there was also a line of scattered forts and trading posts

along the Great Lakes and the Mississippi; but there was no sturdy farming class, and no busy little towns.

The French government tried in vain to persuade peasants and skilled workmen to settle in New France; but very few such Frenchmen were willing to brave the hardships of life in the New World. Like the Virginia Company in the early days, the king of France sent out young women to become wives of the settlers, and to each new-wedded couple in Canada he gave a royal wed-



FRENCH GENTLEMAN AND LADY of the seventeenth century. Compare the costume with that of John Alden and Priscilla, p. 72.

ding present of "an ox, a cow, a pair of swine, a pair of fowls, two barrels of salted meat, and eleven crowns in money." Other prizes were given to fathers of large families. But even with these inducements, the population did not grow rapidly. *The whole of Canada in 1688 had but eleven thousand people.*

It is true there was in France one group of men and women who wished to go to America with their families, to make homes there. The *Huguenots*, as the French Protestants were called, were cruelly persecuted in France. England adopted the policy of allowing her dissenters to go to the colonies;



OLD FRENCH FARM HOUSE IN CANADA. Many such farm houses, dating back to the seventeenth century, are still standing in the province of Quebec.



Courtesy of Canadian Pacific R. R.

QUEBEC TO-DAY, — a view of the citadel and some of the public buildings. A study of this photograph will show what difficulties Wolfe and his men met with in their siege of the city (p. 128).



BUILDING THE *GRIFFON*. — In order to explore the western Great Lakes, La Salle had to build a ship on Lake Erie above Niagara Falls. It was made out of green timber cut from the forest close by ; but its ropes, sails, anchors, and guns had been brought all the way from France.



LA SALLE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FOR FRANCE, at the mouth of the river. — From a painting by Marchand, shown first at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904.

but France would not give this privilege to men who refused to worship according to the religion of its king, and French officials in Canada even hunted down and imprisoned those who escaped thither. Many Huguenots, however, did escape to the Protestant countries of Europe and to the English colonies in America. **Religious persecution cost France her best chance for successful colonies.**

While the English colonies grew independent and strong from neglect, **the French colonies were weakened by having too much done for them.** The rulers did everything; the people did nothing. Aid was constantly asked from the king. "Send us money to build storehouses"; "Send us a teacher to make sailors"; "We want a surgeon." Thus New France did not learn to walk alone.

Even the smallest matters were arranged by govern-

ors sent from France instead of by the colonists. The regulation of inns and pew rent, the order in which officials should sit in church, the keeping of dogs and cattle, the pay of chimney sweeps, were settled by ordinances of the governor at Quebec.

And of course the French colonists were permitted no legislatures of their own, and no town-meeting



CANADIAN SOLDIER. The lighted taper, or "match" in the left hand was necessary to set off his "match-lock" musket — used before the invention of flint-locks (p. 60). These in turn were followed by percussion caps over priming, and then by cartridges.



CANADIAN TRAPPER ON SNOW-SHOES.

government. Their complete dependence on France to do everything for them has been called the "fatal weakness of New France."

French territory in the New World was many times greater than the English, and France had several times as many people (in Europe) as England had. Still, *English colonists in America soon greatly outnumbered the French*. This was largely because the English colonists were building *homes*, while the French soldiers and traders were building mainly forts and trading posts. And one great reason for this difference was that the English colonists were allowed much more *self-government* than the French had.

In 1754, when the last great war over America between France and England began, England had twenty times as many colonists as France had. (See map-graph facing p. 149.)

II. FRANCE AND ENGLAND WAR FOR AMERICA

The French and English had been rivals in North America from the beginning. A British expedition from Virginia

wiped out a little French settlement on the coast of Maine as early as 1613, and in 1629 the English seized Quebec and held it for three years. From the West Indies to Hudson Bay the people of the two nations carried on continually a piratical warfare with each other, even when their governments in Europe were at peace. Their traders fought for the fur trade about Hudson Bay; their sailor folk quarreled over the best fish-



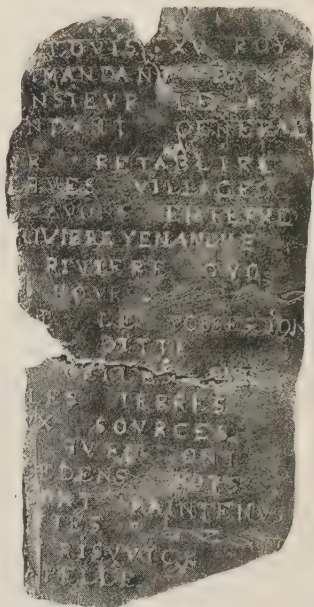
A FRENCH FRIGATE.

ing-grounds off the Banks of Newfoundland; New England trading vessels were seized close to their own ports by French men-of-war from the convenient harbor of Louisbourg; and the hardy New Englanders lay in wait to give as good as they received.

In 1689 France and England came to *open war*; and between that time and 1763 they fought *four wars* in both America and Europe.

The last and greatest is known as *the French and Indian War*. This at first was a struggle for the Ohio valley. Both countries had claimed the district, but for a long time neither took measures to enforce its claim.

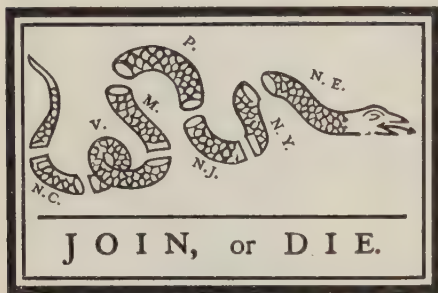
Then in 1749 the French sent an official expedition down the Ohio to take possession of the region in the name of the king of France. The next year the governor of Virginia sent out a company of surveyors to prepare for extending English settlement there. This expedition learned that the French were already building forts at important points in the valley, — especially Ft. Duquesne, at the head of the Ohio. The young *George Washington* was then sent by the governor of Virginia to warn the French that they were building on British soil and that they must move off at once. The French officers entertained the young envoy with the greatest courtesy, but answered that they must continue to carry out the orders of their master, the king of France, to whom, they said, these territories truly belonged.



FRAGMENTS OF A LEAD PLATE, recently discovered on the banks of the Ohio; set up there by the Bienville expedition of 1749 to claim possession for King Louis of France.

The next year Washington was sent out again with a small force to fortify the disputed region. He built *Fort Necessity* on one of the head waters of the Ohio, in Western Pennsylvania, but his numbers were so few that he was soon obliged to surrender his little stronghold to a French army.

The Albany Congress, 1754. — So far matters on the English side had been carried on by Virginia alone. Now the

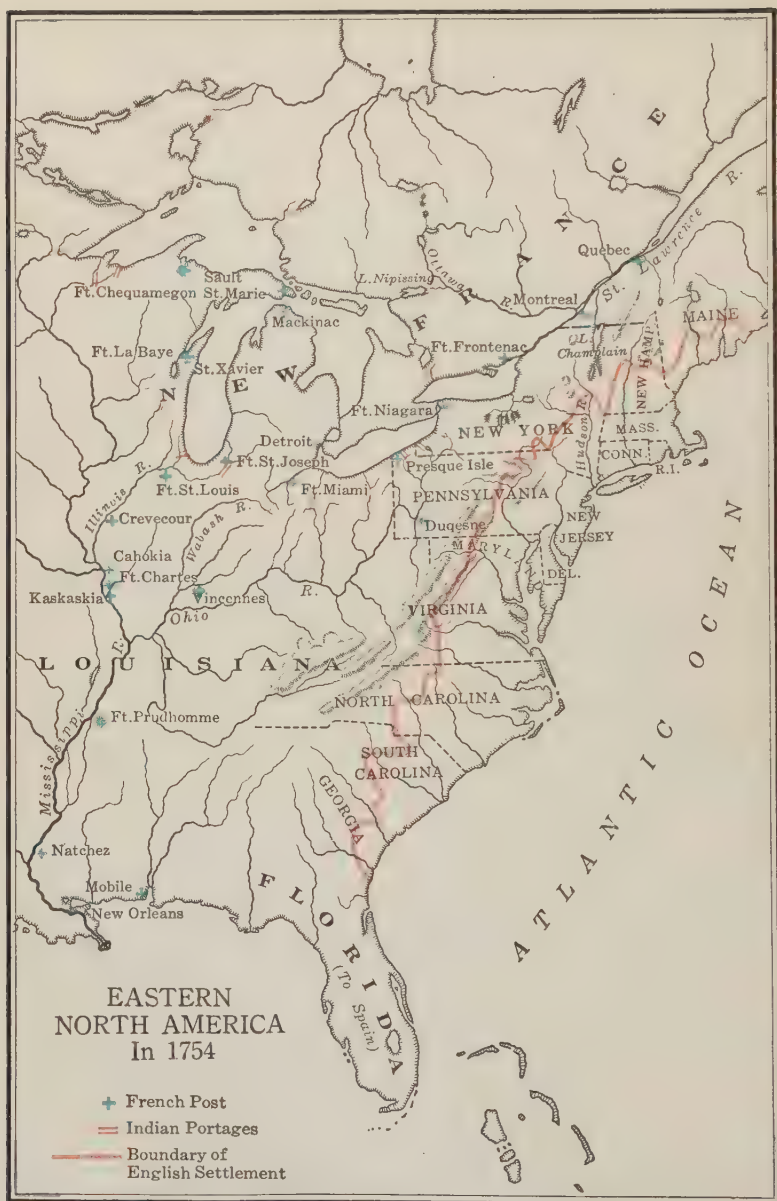


DRAWING IN FRANKLIN'S PAPER to show the necessity of colonial union. It used to be thought that if a snake were cut in pieces and the parts allowed to join again, the snake would live.

English government took a hand, and tried to unite the colonies for the struggle. It called a conference at Albany, to which delegates came from seven of the thirteen colonies. English statesmen, and some colonial statesmen, too, felt that now was the time to bring about a firm union of the colonies. Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania suggested a plan. He wished to have a yearly meeting of delegates from all the colonies to decide questions of taxation and defense, and a President General to be sent from England.

The plan was not adopted, partly because the colonies were jealous of each other, and partly because the English government itself feared that a union might make her colonies *too* strong. But the meeting did make the colonists better acquainted; and, twenty years later, they were to put the idea of union to good purpose against the mother country herself.

Braddock's Defeat. — Meantime, England had sent over a large army, but at first the French and their Indian allies were victorious. The English General Braddock, who led



an expedition across the Alleghenies, marched his army of redcoats in fine military array through the mud of a newly built forest road that led toward Fort Duquesne. George Washington, at the head of the little colonial force that accompanied the English army, warned Braddock that the Indians attacked from behind rocks and trees, and advised him to meet them in their own way. This advice the



Courtesy The Mentor.

GEORGE WASHINGTON RAISING THE BRITISH FLAG AT THE CAPTURE OF FORT DUQUESNE (Fort Pitt) in 1758 (p. 128). The painting by Chapin. Washington holds the flagstaff from the right-hand side.

stubborn general scorned, as not becoming a British soldier. As a result, seven hundred English regulars were killed, and the rest retreated to Virginia after a brave but hopeless resistance.

Now the English began to take the conflict in America more seriously. The young prime minister, *William Pitt*, determined that no pains should be spared to conquer France there. More armies and experienced generals were sent out. The English, too, had the advantage on the sea,

and prevented the French in America from getting reinforcements and supplies from Europe. One French fort after another fell into English hands. Fort Duquesne was taken and renamed *Fort Pitt* (Pittsburgh).

The able English General, *James Wolfe*, was now given the task of taking Quebec. The siege lasted three months.

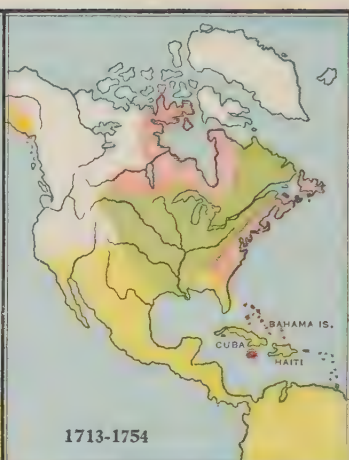
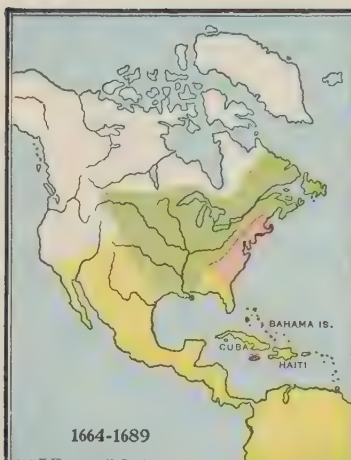


BRITISH SOLDIER.

Quebec had a splendid natural position on a high cliff overlooking the St. Lawrence, and it was very strongly fortified. Moreover *Montcalm*, the bravest and best of the French generals, was in command there.

The object of the English seemed an impossible one. But they discovered a narrow trail up the cliff where the French dragged provisions from an occasional supply boat. No attack was expected here, and it did not seem possible that an *army* could scale that steep and rocky path. But no approach was too difficult for Wolfe and his men. By night they noiselessly scaled the cliff, dragging their cannon and munitions after them, while the English boats in the river below were making a pretense of attacking the city. By the time the real attacking army was discovered on the Plains of Abraham behind the fort, it was too late for the French to resist it. They fought bravely, but were forced to yield to the English. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed: the one rejoicing in his victory, and the other that he would not live to see the loss of "New France."

The fall of Quebec gave England the key to New France. In Europe the fighting continued for four years more, but in 1763 the *Peace of Paris* ended the war. By this treaty



**EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
IN
AMERICA, 1664-1775**

- English*
- French*
- Spanish*
- Russian*

France lost all her possessions in the New World, except a few small islands. She ceded Canada to England along with her territory east of the Mississippi. Spain, who had fought on the side of France, lost Florida to England; and, to make up for this, France ceded to Spain her lands west of the Mississippi and also the island of New Orleans at its mouth. The Mississippi had become the boundary between the English and Spanish in North America.

England did not make any great changes in the government of the people of New France. Their Catholic religion was tolerated, and their customs remained unchanged. French officers were replaced by English; but the life of the French settlers went on much the same as under French rule. Most of them accepted the new arrangement contentedly. A few, however, did move across the Mississippi to the Spanish side, so as to be under the rule of a Catholic nation. A group of such men founded *St. Louis*; and soon that place was carrying on a flourishing fur trade with Indians up the Missouri.



FRENCH SOLDIER.

FURTHER READINGS

Perhaps the most interesting story of the French in America is Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*. Other good ones are: Baldwin, *Discovery of the Old Northwest*; Drake, *Taking of Louisbourg*; Eggleston, *Life in the Eighteenth Century*; Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*, and *Source Book*; McMurtry, *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley* and *Pioneers on Land and Sea*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*; Sparks, *Expansion of the United States*; and Tappan, *American Hero Stories*. Topics which might be reported to the class are the adventures of Marquette and LaSalle,

and the sieges of Louisbourg and Quebec. Washington's adventures in the Ohio country are told in the early part of any good life of George Washington, and make an interesting report.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Study the physical map facing p. 262 to find reasons why England's settlements were compact. Why was it easier for the French to reach the great central valley? Why were Quebec and Ft. Duquesne so important?

2. Show on an outline map what American territory changed hands between 1700 and 1763. To whom did the part of the country in which you live belong after 1763?

3. Do you think American history would have been changed if the French had not been kept out of the Hudson valley by the Iroquois? Who did first settle there?

4. Compare the motives of English and French colonists, so far as you can learn about them.

5. Can you think of any reasons why the English colonists would have submitted less easily to French rule than the French did to the English?

6. What States have been formed from the territory granted by France to England in 1763?

7. Can you think of any reasons why the Indians preferred French to English settlement?



A SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF BOSTON. — From an English engraving of 1723.

CHAPTER X

LIFE AND WORK IN ENGLISH AMERICA: 1700-1775

In this chapter we shall survey conditions in America just before the struggle for independence from the mother country. It will be easier to understand, if you first recall what you have read, in this book and elsewhere, on life and work in the colonies before 1700.

I. THE OLDER SETTLEMENTS

Population in the English colonies grew so rapidly that by 1760 the 250,000 inhabitants of 1690 (p. 109) had become 1,600,000, and by 1775 the number had risen to 2,500,000. Nineteen twentieths of the people were still farmers (instead of about one third as to-day in America); but soil and climate made farming in New England very different from farming in the South or even in the Middle Colonies.

Make a chart for the colonies by sections, like that shown on p. 132. (Later in this chapter you will begin to find material for the fourth column.) Write the names of the colonies in the proper columns, and give the chief characteristics of each section. That is, tell whether the people of a section lived in little farming

villages, or on large farms, or on plantations; name for each section the principal products; state the kind of labor employed; and name other occupations than farming.

NEW ENGLAND	MIDDLE COLONIES	SOUTHERN COLONIES	NEW WEST

Although such a large part of the population were farmers, **there was also a good deal of manufacturing**; for, as we have seen, *each farm was also a factory*. (Have you kept in your notebook a list of articles manufactured on most colonial farms?) Often a family made more of some article than it needed — yarn, for instance, or nails, or shingles, or shoes. In that case they traded a part to their neighbors or to a traveling merchant.

This manufacturing and trade on the farm was especially common in New England, where farming by itself did not bring a very good income. In the slack seasons, the farmer cut logs and perhaps ran a sawmill, or got out such other forest products as tar, turpentine, and potash, or went off to the fisheries. He tanned his own leather, and, if he could own a rude gristmill, he ground his own corn and that of his neighbors. The New England farmer had to be a “jack of all trades.”

Labor. — Negro slaves had become so common in the South that white bond-servants had almost disappeared there. Such “servants,” however, still did nearly all the unskilled hand-labor in the Middle Colonies. The advertisement reprinted on the following page shows, indeed, that there were still some of them in New England — though in that part of the country most of the work was done by free wage-labor. During the years shortly before the Revolution, the white bond-servants became exceed-

ingly restless; and the newspapers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia printed hundreds of advertisements like the one given here.

THIS Day run-away from his Master
Abraham Anderson of *New-Marblehead*, a white Man Servant, about 16 Years of Age, with short brownish strait Hair, he is pretty clear skin'd, something freckled, and I think, on his left Foot the top of one of his middle Toes is cut off: He carried off with him a striped worsted and wool Jacket, two tow and linnen Shirts, one pair of tow and linnen Trowsers, and one pair of tow and linnen striped Breeches, two pair of lightish coloured blue Hose, and a new Castor Hat: His Name is *Florence Sylvester* alias *Ned Carter*: Whosoever shall apprehend and take up said Fellow, and him deliver to his abovesaid Master in *New-Marblehead*, in the County of *York*, or to *Capt. Joshua Bangs* in *Falmouth*, shall have **FOUR POUNDS**, lawful Money, as a Reward, and all necessary Charges paid.
August 25. 1755. *Abraham Anderson.*

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE *Boston Weekly News Letter*, September 18, 1755.
 A photograph of the original, which is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

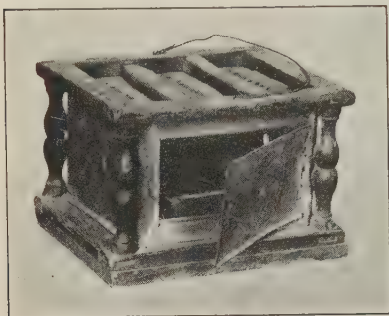
New Navigation Acts.—The women and girls of New England and the Middle Colonies began to be so expert in the making of woollen cloth that English manufacturers and merchants became alarmed. An English governor of New York reported to England that the colonists on Long Island were making serge "that any man may wear."

"I hope I may be pardoned," he adds, "if I declare my opinion that all these Colloneys which are but twigs belonging to the Main Tree ought to be kept entirely dependent upon England; and that can never be if they are suffered to go on in the notions they have, that as Englishmen, so they may set up the same manufactures here as people may do in England."

So about the year 1700, English merchants persuaded Parliament to pass some new and more oppressive Navigation Acts, to discourage these colonial manufactures. Par-

liament did not try to forbid any colony to make cloth *for its own people*, but it did say that no colony might export woolen cloth to any other.

Another of these laws was still more oppressive. In nearly all the colonies some iron ore was easily obtained, and small blast furnaces (or iron mills) had been established early, to turn out simple iron articles. English manufacturers needed all the bar iron and pig iron they could get; so Parliament encouraged the colonists to get out iron *in these crude forms* by offering bounties for its export to



A COLONIAL FOOT STOVE.

England. But, in 1730, the English government stopped all other iron manufactures in the colonies by ***forbidding absolutely the building or operation of iron mills there.*** This law, too, could not be evaded, as other troublesome Navigation Acts usually were. (Can you see why not?)

There was a large colonial commerce in spite of the Navigation Acts. In the coast towns, as far south as Maryland, there were many rich merchants who sent out their own ships to trade with distant parts of the world. New England, especially, developed hardy sailors and skillful shipmasters.

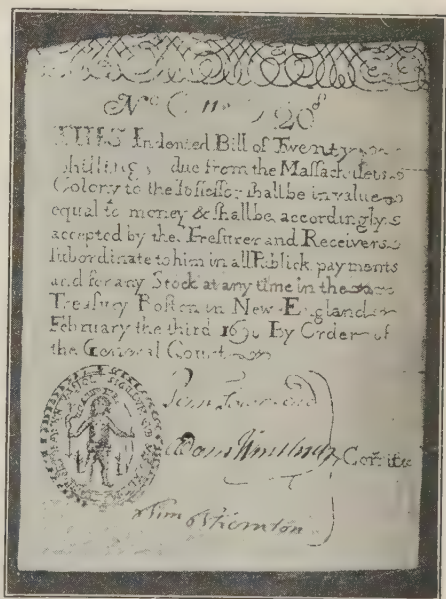
Much of the trade was smuggling in the eye of the law. But the Navigation Acts had not tried to forbid colonists to carry their fish, grain, cattle, hides, and furs, to the outside world. Large amounts of these articles were exported, sometimes to European countries, but especially to the English West Indies, where they were greatly needed. From those islands the New Englanders brought back sugar and molasses. Out of this they made rum, which they then

carried to the coast of Africa to exchange for slaves. The slaves they sold in the Southern colonies, or in the West Indies — in exchange for more molasses, to make into more rum, with which to buy more slaves, and so on.

The Lack of Coin. — The colonies had become fairly rich *in goods*, but they did not have *enough money* to carry on their business well. As they were not permitted to coin gold or silver (p. 113), *trade among themselves had to be carried on largely by "barter."* Virginia used tobacco for money; and all the colonies from time to time passed laws to fix the rates at which produce (like grain or meat) must be taken in place of money. Taxes and wages were paid in the same way; and it is recorded that a student at Harvard (afterward president of the college) paid his tuition fee with "an old cow."

Paper Money. — But during the French and Indian wars, the colonial governments *had* to have large amounts of money to buy supplies promptly for their troops; and so they issued *paper money*, — or *promises to pay* at some future time.

But these "promises" were not well kept. A colony found it easy to print and put out more of them than it would ever be able to redeem. Such paper money soon began to lose part of its value, and people sometimes were



MASSACHUSETTS PAPER MONEY OF 1690.

unwilling to take it at all, especially any that had not been issued by their own colony. A New Yorker would not have a very good idea, you see, what Massachusetts money was really worth. This caused serious confusion in business, and the English government finally forbade the colonies to issue any more paper currency.

Trade and Communication. — As trade and wealth increased, roads were built between the principal settlements near the coast, and inns were established for travelers. In 1732 a regular stage-coach line was started between New York and Boston; and in 1766 the owner of the "Flying Machine" (a stage that ran from New York to Philadelphia) announced that he would carry passengers over that route in the amazingly short time of two days! (To-day the trip is made by train in two hours.)



To the PUBLIC.

THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by John Mercereau, at the New-Blazing-Star-Ferry, near New York, sets off from Powles-Hook every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia, and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the Summer Season, till the 1st of November; from that Time to go twice a Week till the first of May, when they again perform it three Times a Week. When the Stages go only twice a Week, they set off Mondays and Thursdays. The Waggon in Philadelphia set out from the Sign of the George, in Second-Street, the same Morning. The Passengers are desired to cross the Ferry the Evening before, as the Stages must set off early the next Morning.

FIRST PART OF AN ADVERTISEMENT IN 1771. The advertiser goes on to ask for patronage especially because one of his three "stage wagons" (not the one shown in the picture) is in the stylish form of a coach, which had been used in the past only for private vehicles. That soon became the common form. See pictures facing pp. 208, 209.

were not paved, and passengers often had to get out and help lift the coach out of the mud. There were few bridges; and streams had to be forded or crossed by ferries. South of Philadelphia, all travel was still by horseback or by boat — as it was elsewhere except between the chief cities — and everywhere goods were still carried on pack horses or by water.

When possible, indeed, passengers *preferred* to travel by

water, though that method, too, was slow and uncertain. They had to wait until a sloop was ready to sail, and then they must provide their own bedding and provisions.

In education there had been little progress. Indeed, in New England the Puritan school system had been allowed to decay somewhat, and many of the towns had only poor primary schools with short terms. Pennsylvania and Maryland had laws calling for public free schools, but these laws were not well enforced. South of Maryland there was no attempt at a system of *public* schools; but rich planters sometimes gave money in their wills to establish free schools for the poor, and some private schools had sprung up. In some colonies, too, especially in New York, there were also church schools. On the whole a surprisingly large part of the population could at least read and write — a larger part than could then be found in any other country.

For BARBADOS directly,
The Brigantine,
Rebecca and Mary,
Daniel England
Commander;
Lying at Morris Morris's
wharf, and has good accom-
modations for passengers.
For freight or passage, apply to James West, or sail
commander on board.



ADVERTISEMENT OF A SHIP SAILING,
from a colonial newspaper. Notice that
no exact date for sailing is given.

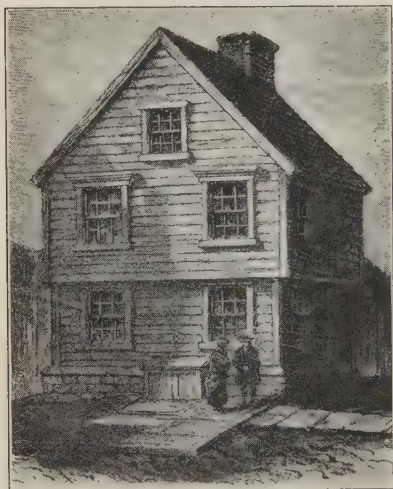


A HANGING SIGN OF THE BEN GROS-
VENOR INN, Pomfret, Connecticut, on the
road between Boston and New York.
Notice the English flag. A photo from
the original, still in existence and owned
by John P. Grosvenor of Pomfret.

Higher education, too, was
getting a start. Besides the
older *Harvard* and *William*
and Mary, several new col-
leges were established, — *Yale*

in Connecticut, *Dartmouth* in New Hampshire, *Brown* in Rhode Island, *King's* (now *Columbia*) in New York, *Princeton* in New Jersey, and the *University of Pennsylvania* at Philadelphia.

Freedom of the Press. — The first American newspaper appeared in Boston in 1704, and before 1760 each of the few

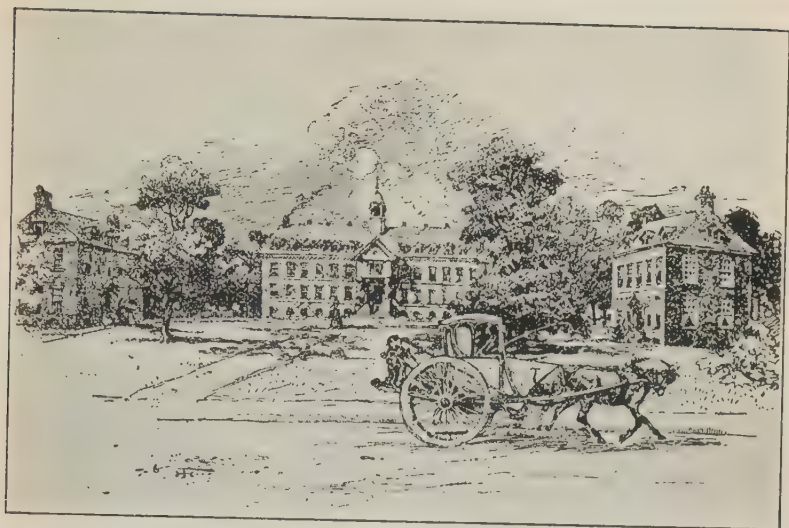


FRANKLIN'S BIRTHPLACE.

large towns had at least one weekly paper. (There were no dailies.) Those papers, however, were very much smaller than ours are, nor did they have much news or a wide circulation. Still they gave considerable information about what was going on in the world; and people began also to find in them a chance to express opinions on public matters. In New York a famous trial of a newspaper publisher, *John Peter Zenger*, estab-

lished the right of the press to print the truth about public officials even when it was unpleasant.

Zenger had come from Holland many years before as an indentured servant. He had finally become the owner of an important New York paper, and in 1735 he ventured to criticize in it the tyrannical conduct of the governor. For this, he was arrested and brought to trial. The governor and his tools, the judges, used every effort to have him convicted of criminal libel — for which the penalty would have been a long and harsh imprisonment. But Zenger's lawyer made a strong and eloquent plea to the jury. "Men



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. — From a print of 1723.



HARVARD COLLEGE IN 1770. — From an engraving by Paul Revere.



FRONTISPIECE TO FENNING'S *Universal Speller* (1755). — Note the children's dress and games.

who injure and oppress the people," said he, bluntly, "provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new persecutions. . . . The question before you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern: it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone. No! It is the cause of liberty." By acquitting Zenger, he told the jury, they would preserve "the liberty to which Nature and the laws of our country have given us the right — the liberty of opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world, at least) by speaking and writing the truth."

To the rage of the governor and judges, the jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty," and the people of New York and of neighboring colonies celebrated the victory with great rejoicings. The "freedom of the press" is still valued by us as one of the chief safeguards of our liberties.



THE YOUNG FRANKLIN at his brother's press. This style of hand-press was used until long after the Revolution. It was little changed from Caxton's (after p. 24).

The most famous journalist of the day, and probably the best known American of his century, was **Benjamin Franklin**. Franklin's father was a candle maker in Boston, and Benjamin was the youngest in a family of seventeen children. At the age of twelve he was "bound out" for ten years as an apprentice to his elder brother, who kept a printing office and published a paper; but at seventeen he ran away, unable to endure his brother's fits of temper.

Traveling on foot or by water, it took the runaway a long time to reach his destination, Philadelphia, and his small stock of money was almost gone. With his extra clothing stuffed into his pockets, a large roll of bread under each arm, and munching upon a third as he strolled along, he started out on the streets of that city to find work.



YOUNG FRANKLIN ENTERING PHILADELPHIA, — a statue in front of the University of Pennsylvania.

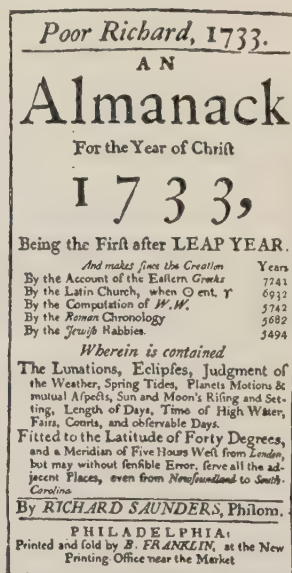
Before many years Franklin was able to set up in business for himself. He printed the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and established branch printing offices in other colonies. As a writer he was famous for his clear style and homely humor. His *Poor Richard's Almanac* was the first really popular American work, and was translated into many languages. He helped to establish a free hospital in Philadelphia (a rare thing in that day) and the first circulating library in America; and he took a leading part in starting the college which became the University of Pennsylvania. He urged that especial attention should be paid there to teaching English and modern languages, — instead of teaching only Latin and Greek, as was the custom in colleges at that time.

Franklin was recognized in Europe as well as in America as a scientist and inventor. His theories of electricity were far ahead of his day. Probably his most important invention was the lightning rod, for which he refused to take out a patent since he wished his inventions to be free for all man-

kind. Another helpful invention was the Franklin stove, — an improvement on the fireplace in that it saved fuel and also sent more of its heat into the room instead of up the chimney. Franklin's own home was a curiosity shop of clever devices. His library chair had an automatic fan to keep off the flies (there were no fly screens then) and a long artificial arm with which he could reach books on the high shelves without getting up.

As soon as Franklin had made money enough so that he felt he could live comfortably upon it, he retired from active business, intending to devote himself to scientific study. But instead the last years of his life were spent in serving his country. He had already held for some time the office of Postmaster General for the colonies (an office under the English government). Now the Pennsylvanians sent him to represent their interests in England. Here he secured so much influence that several other colonies were glad to get him to act as their agent also.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War brought him back to America. He had always hoped for a union of the colonies (p. 126), and now he used all his influence to get them to unite permanently. He served on the committee that drew up the Declaration of Independence, and then he was sent to France to represent the new United States there and to win the aid of that country against England. In his Quaker garments he was a striking contrast to the bewigged and gayly costumed gallants of the splendid French court; but his



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF TITLE PAGE.

very simplicity, combined with his brilliant wit, made him exceedingly popular there. He helped negotiate the treaty of peace at the close of the war, and at the age of eighty-two, he served in the great Convention of 1787 which drew up the Constitution of the United States (p. 199).

Franklin was liberal and democratic in his ideas. He was shrewd and witty, and he had strong common sense. He was self-educated, and in his own life he knew extreme poverty as well as wealth. He is well called the first typical American — “the many-sided Franklin.”

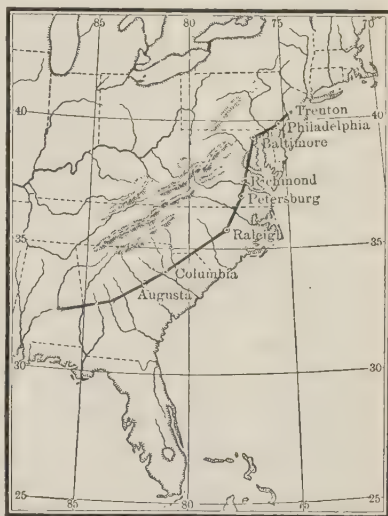
II. THE MOVING FRONTIER

The rich merchants of a few coast towns, as well as the wealthy planters of the South, lived with great luxury — gold plate on their tables, gold lace on their velvets and silks. An English visitor wrote in 1720, — “There is no fashion in London but is to be seen in three or four months in Boston.” But all this luxury concerned only a small class in the older parts of the country. **There was always a frontier in colonial America where the settlers were repeating the hard and dangerous experiences of the first comers.**

The frontier was always moving westward. *The first frontier was at tidewater;* but after the first half-century that district could no longer be called by such a name. Settlement was growing fairly dense, and towns had arisen at the mouths of rivers and on good harbors — like Boston, Providence, and New York (as others arose quickly at Philadelphia and Charleston, when Pennsylvania and South Carolina were founded).

By 1660, however, a second thin frontier had been pushed up the streams about a hundred miles to the foothills of the Appalachians. Waterpower for mills was abundant at such points, and during the *second* half-century a new line of towns grew up there, Pittsfield, Trenton, Raleigh, Columbia.

Just beyond this "fall line," rose rugged mountains, whose slopes did not invite settlement. But, *by 1700*, hunters and pioneer farmers in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were pushing over the first range of mountains into the long narrow valleys that lay between the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge, to form there a *third and very different frontier*. The second frontier had at least kept in touch with the settled districts — though of course travel back and forth had been difficult; but the third frontier was cut off from any older settlement by at least a hundred miles of tangled and almost impassable wilderness. It was as hard to bring supplies across the mountains, or to carry on trade with the eastern settlements, as it had been for the first American settler to carry on trade with England. This third frontier was the beginning of *the West* as a separate section in our history.



THE WATERCOURSE FALL LINE.

A large part of the settlers in this section, too, were a new kind of immigrants, — the *Presbyterian Scotch-Irish*, who became one of the largest elements in our population and who still furnish many leaders in our national life. (Woodrow Wilson, for instance, was of Scotch-Irish descent.) These people had had long training as pioneers in the Old World. For centuries, their fathers had lived in the Lowlands of Scotland in constant but irregular warfare with the Scots of the Highlands. Then, about 1600, they had set-

tled colonies in northern Ireland, where they made a living largely by weaving linen. But about 1700 the English Navigation Acts ruined this industry. For a long time, too, they had been oppressed by laws against dissenters from the English Church. So they began once more to seek new homes, this time in America. Before 1750, more than 400,000 crossed the Atlantic and large numbers of them passed at once to the frontier.

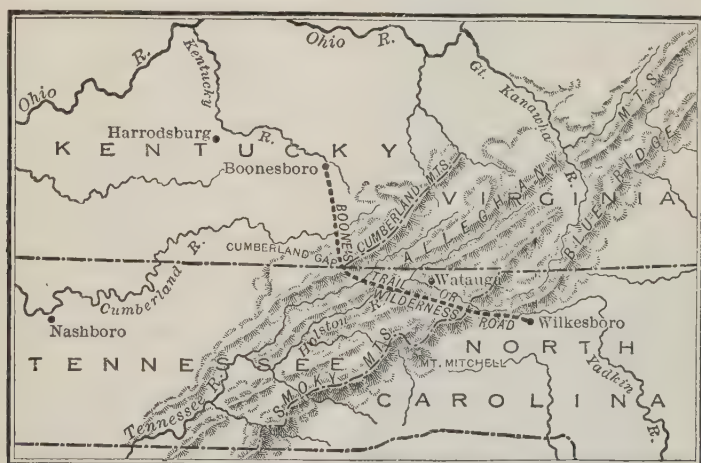
The men of this new West were better fitted for frontier life than the original English settlers in America had been. They were skilled in woodcraft, and they loved the independent life of the wilderness, which the early immigrants had faced only from a stern sense of duty. They did not take up large holdings of land to be worked by slaves or servants, nor did they settle down around a meeting house and town-hall. Each took what land he could work with his own hands; and his log cabin, in its stump-dotted clearing, was often separated by miles of forest from its nearest neighbor.

The scattered settlers of a district always joined one another in building a central stockaded fort (cut after p. 148) where all might take refuge in case of a serious Indian raid; and they gathered occasionally for a "house-raising" or "log-rolling," to build up into walls the heavy logs that a new settler had cut for his home.

But on the whole each settler depended upon himself. His living came partly from his small patch of foodstuffs, but very largely from the game of the forest. The skins of animals furnished most of his clothing. Almost his only articles of trade were the furs of animals he had killed, which once a year he or a neighbor "packed" across the mountain trails on horseback to exchange for the few necessities he could not produce himself—mainly powder and a little iron and lead. The two tools with which these backwoodsmen conquered the savage wilderness were the long rifle

and the light, well-shaped, and well-balanced American ax — tools which became famous in their hands.

Soon after the French and Indian War, some of the most restless and daring of these frontiersmen pushed across the western mountains to form a still newer West, a *fourth American frontier*, in the great basin of the Mississippi. Venturesome traders, who had visited the lands beyond the mountains, had brought back marvelous tales of rich, fertile, well-watered prairies, dotted with stately groves and grassy meadows, far more inviting than the dense forests which so far the American settlers had had to conquer. They told, too, of teeming game — bison, elk, deer, and wild turkey — and of rich profits to be made by the fur trade.

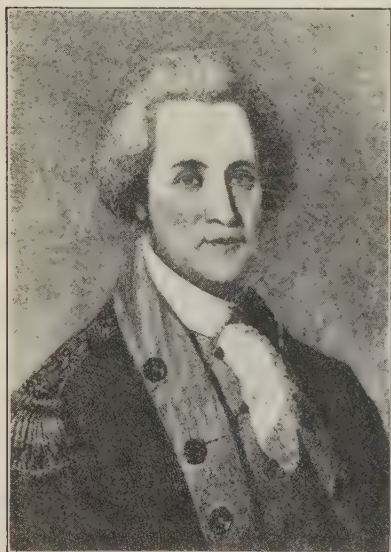


WESTERN SETTLEMENT, 1769-1784.

True, in 1763, the English government, anxious both to prevent trouble with the Indians and to preserve the fur trade, had issued a proclamation forbidding the colonists to make settlements west of the mountains. But this was not enough to keep the hardy, adventure-loving pioneers from crossing the great barrier to seek what lay beyond.

The first settlements on this fourth frontier were made in 1769, when a few Virginian frontiersmen moved their families into the valley of the *Watauga*, a branch of the Holston River — which in turn flows into the Tennessee and so drains finally into the Mississippi (map, p. 145).

Watauga was really in territory belonging to North Carolina; but that colony was distracted at the time by many quarrels among its people and was in no condition to take care of such a distant district. So in 1772 the settlers of the thirteen new "stations" on the Watauga came together in mass meeting to organize a government for themselves.



JOHN SEVIER, — a portrait painted in middle life, after the Revolution.

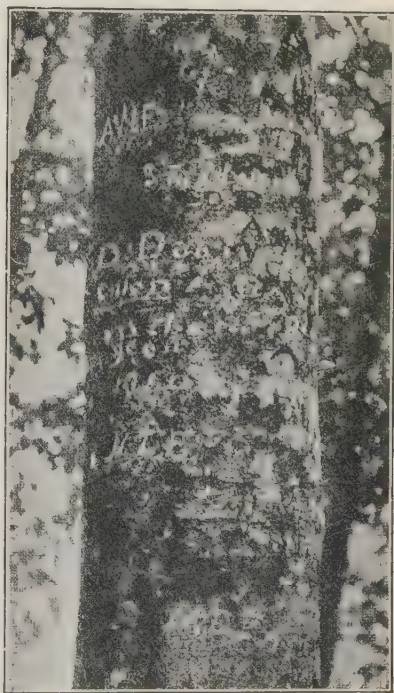
This meeting adopted a *written constitution*, which gave every man two important rights — to worship as he chose and to vote in all elections (manhood suffrage). No other government in America was then so democratic. Some years later, when North Carolina's troubles were settled, Watauga became a county of that State, and later still, a part of the new State of Tennessee.

The two chief leaders of the Watauga movement were *James Robertson* and *John Sevier*. Robertson was a mighty hunter who had first spied out the land. He had been born in the backwoods, and had had to learn "letters and to spell" from his wife after his marriage. But he was a natural leader, and when he found Watauga growing too crowded for his frontier spirit, he headed an-

other migration to Nashboro on the Cumberland, well down toward the Mississippi. Sevier was a "gentleman" from an old Huguenot family, and the most dashing figure in our early frontier life. He was a daring Indian fighter, and was idolized by his rough followers.

Meanwhile, soon after the beginning of Watauga, the settlement of Kentucky was begun by Daniel Boone, another striking backwoods leader. More even than Sevier or Robertson, Boone was the typical frontiersman of the Southwest. He was born in the cabin of a pioneer family in the foothills of western Pennsylvania. He had little book learning; but from his earliest childhood he was trained—eye, ear, and hand—in the craft of the hunter and woodsman. He could move silently through the forest, could detect the slightest sound, could shoot and never miss his mark. Clear-eyed, tall, with sinews of iron, he could endure hunger, wet, and cold without a murmur; and he never wearied of adventure and the wilderness.

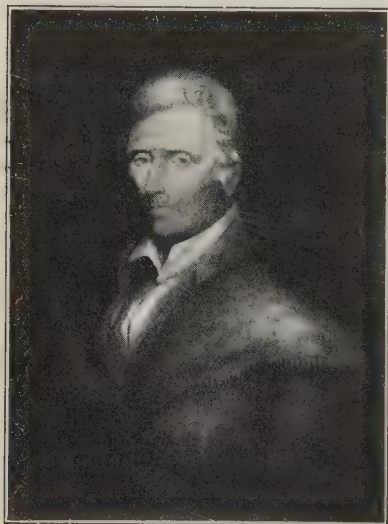
While Boone was still a boy, his family traveled down across the eastern ranges into the mountain valleys of North Carolina. There, when he came of age, the young Boone married, and built a log cabin



A "BOONE TREE" in eastern Tennessee: — "D. Boon cilled a bar on this tree year 1760."

of his own. But he could not settle down quietly for long. Led by tales of traders, he went on many long hunting trips to the West. On one of these, after five weeks of travel, he reached at last the famous "blue-grass" region of Kentucky, with its wealth of game and fur — and its hostile Indians. It was two years before he returned from this "long hunt." But from that time, as he himself said, he felt himself "ordained of God to settle the wilderness."

The land between the Ohio and the Cumberland rivers was a famous hunting ground for the Indians from the north



DANIEL BOONE at 85 (in 1819), when he had moved on into frontier Missouri. From a portrait by Chester Harding.

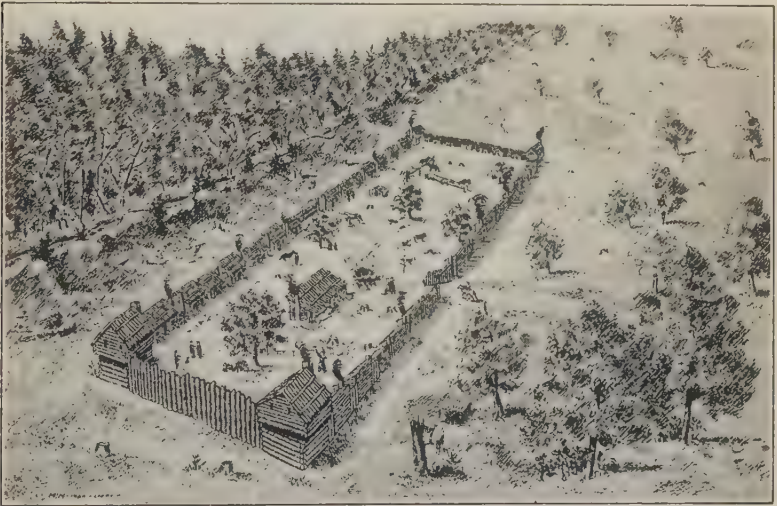
and south. Their bands often met there in deadly combat, so that they had come to call the region *Kain-tuck-ee*, or "the dark and bloody ground." Boone's first attempt to lead a little band of settlers to new homes there failed because of an Indian raid in which one of his own sons was killed.

But in 1775 a strong settlement was finally established at *Boonesboro* on the Kentucky River in territory claimed by Virginia. Boone with thirty well-armed companions went

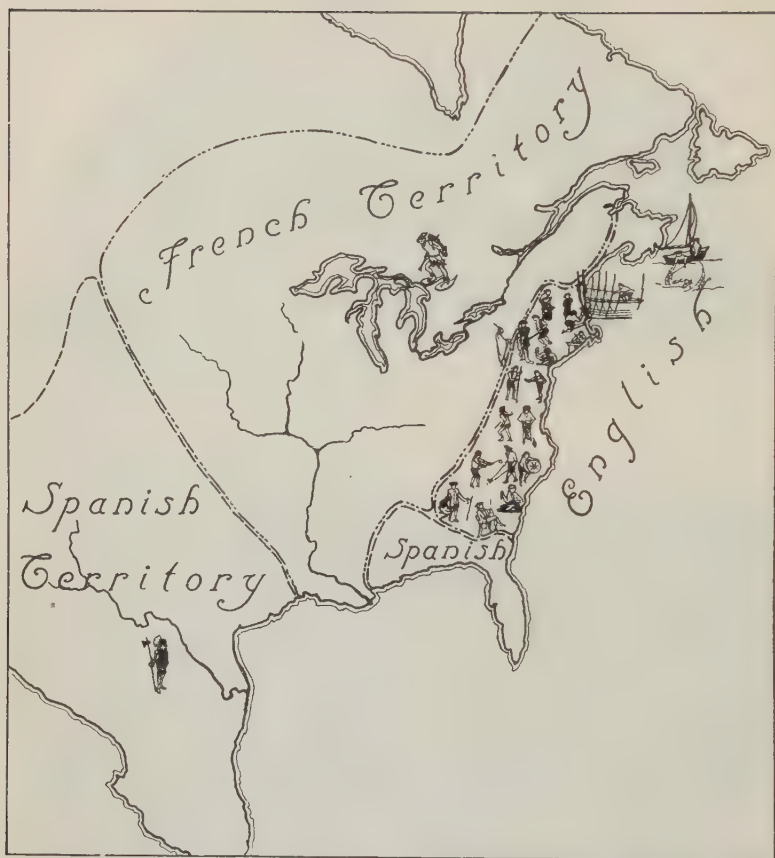
ahead through the Cumberland Gap to blaze a trail. They could not stop to build a road; but they cut out the underbrush in the worst places, and sought easy routes and convenient places to ford the rivers, marking the way by "blazing" trees with their hatchets. (For many years this "Wilderness Road" (p. 145) was the main route from the



BOONE'S FIRST VIEW OF THE KENTUCKY "BLUE GRASS" REGIONS. — A wall painting by Gilbert White in the Kentucky Capitol.



BOONESBORO. — A "reconstruction" based upon early descriptions. This was a typical "station," or fort, of the Southwest. See p. 124.



WHY FRANCE FAILED. — This “graph” of **North America in 1750** helps explain why France lost the continent to England. See page 100. The Indian figure does not represent *numbers* of people, as the other human figures do. The artist put him just outside the English settled district to signify the exclusion of his race from that area. Note the *number* of the other figures in each of the three areas, and their occupations. Spanish territory, of course, extended further south than this map goes.

older colonies to the West.) Along this trail, other men of the party led pack horses loaded with young children and with a few necessary supplies, while the older children and the women drove the few lean cattle. Several years of severe trial followed. Many times war parties of Indians attacked the settlement, killing hundreds of people and carrying off many others; but Boonesboro repulsed every attack.

Kentucky grew rapidly, and by the close of the Revolution, contained 25,000 people. But Boone loved the wilderness too well to spend his days in a settled community. He moved west once more, beyond the Mississippi; and the age of eighty-six found him planning to move still again, up the Missouri, to a newer and more western West — a step which was prevented only by his death.

We cannot easily overestimate the work of these pioneers. They won the Mississippi valley for us, first from the wilderness, then from the Indians, and finally during the Revolution, from the British government.

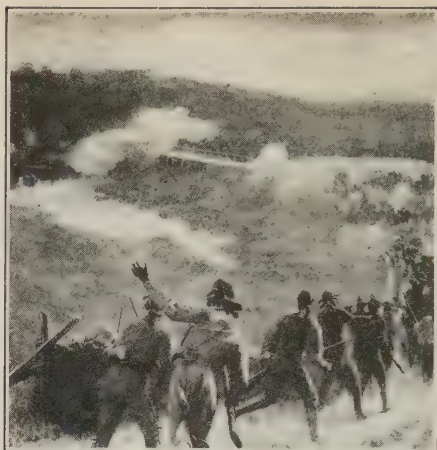
FURTHER READINGS

The books mentioned at the close of Chapter VIII give plenty of material on life in the colonies after 1700. Franklin tells the interesting story of his early life in his *Autobiography*. For the New West, Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* is excellent; other good accounts are Brigham, *From Trail to Railway*; McMurry, *Pioneers in the Mississippi Valley*; Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*; Sparks, *Expansion of the United States*; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*. There are good biographies of Boone by Thwaites and by Stewart Edward White.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. The English statesman and scholar, Lord Bryce, has said, — "The West is the most American part of America." Can you explain this statement?

2. Do you find any new steps toward democracy in this chapter, to be added to the list in your notebooks?



CONCORD BRIDGE, APRIL 19, 1775.

*"Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."*

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA BECOMES INDEPENDENT

I. TEN YEARS OF DISAGREEMENTS, 1765-1775

The French wars increased the independent spirit of the colonists. For some years before, they had been growing away from England without clearly realizing it. But now that they no longer needed English protection against French conquest, they were more ready to think about their differences with England herself.

Moreover they felt justly proud of the part they had played in fighting side by side with regular British troops against trained French armies. Then, too, during the wars the colonies had grown better acquainted with each other. Leaders had developed among them,—soldiers like Washington and statesmen like Franklin—whose names and reputations were known and admired from Massachusetts to Georgia.

The wars also led England to tax America. Taxes in England were heavy because of her war debt. She had brought part of that debt upon herself in defending her colonies against France, and the government thought it needful still to keep an English army in America for protection against Indian outbreaks. George Grenville, the minister at the head of the government, thought that the colonies (which had already cost England so much) ought in future to be taxed enough to pay for at least a part of this future defense.

The colonists, however, preferred being left to defend themselves now that there was no longer any danger from France. They suspected the mother country, too, of wanting to keep troops among them in order to prevent their getting too independent. And *they did not believe Parliament had the right to lay taxes in America anyway.* Only their own representatives in their own Assemblies, they said, had any right to do that.

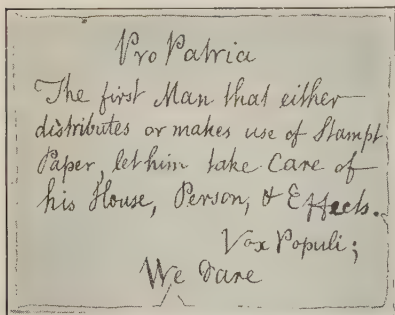
When did American colonists first exercise this privilege? When did they first claim it *as a right*? Had any attempts been made to deprive them of it?

But Grenville's plan was supported heartily by the young king, *George the Third*. This ruler had come to the throne just three years before. He was a good man in private life, but he was a very poor king. He was trying to exercise more power than any English sovereign had had since the Revolution of 1688, and he did not wish to see any of his subjects too independent. In England at that time only large landholders and rich merchants could vote, and there were some large manufacturing cities that had no representatives at all. King George wished to put down the American cry of "No taxation without representation" before his English subjects took it up.

At the same time many English statesmen felt that to tax the colonies was both unwise and unjust. Among them were the orator *Edmund Burke*, and *William Pitt*, who had managed the French and Indian War so successfully. But these leaders were not able to keep the aristocratic Parliament from adopting Grenville's plan.

In 1765 Parliament passed a Stamp Act, which provided for a tax to be collected on all legal documents and newspapers issued in America. The colonists would not be able to carry on any business—not even to sign a deed or get a marriage license—without paying a tax to England.

This act aroused violent excitement in America. It made no difference to the colonists that Grenville had provided



A HANDBILL OF THE NEW YORK SONS OF LIBERTY.

that all the revenue was to be spent on their defense. Their right of "No taxation without representation" was at stake. Bells were tolled and flags were hung at half mast. Patriots organized bands called *Sons of Liberty*, who made it their business to see that the stamps were not used.

Most of the stamp agents, frightened by the threats they received, resigned their offices even before the stamps arrived from England. In some places mobs seized the stamps when they did come, and burned them or threw them into the sea. In New York the "Liberty Boys" broke into the Lieutenant Governor's coach house and dragged the coach away through the streets. Behind it they bore horrible effigies of the governor and the devil, and finally they burned effigies and coach in a public square.



"If this be treason, make the most of it!"

Patrick Henry (p. 153) urging his Stamp Act Resolutions in the Virginia House of Burgesses. — A painting by P. F. Rothenmel.

FROM PATRICK HENRY'S *Resolutions*, May 27, 1765.

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Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of *Virginia*, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his Majesty's colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of *Great Britain*.

.

Resolved, Therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy *British* as well as *American* liberty.

Resolved, that his Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

Resolved, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to his Majesty's colony.

After a very little delay, most lawyers continued to do business as before, without using the stamps; and editors issued their papers with a skull and crossbones printed where the stamp was supposed to be.

Patrick Henry's Resolutions. — In the colonial Assemblies fiery speeches were made in defense of colonial rights. In

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Disgraceful,
Doleful,
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



OF THE
OF THE
OF THE
OF THE

Thursday, October 31, 1765.
THE
NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP ACT, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the First of November ensuing, (the fatal To morrow) the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any Method can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the misupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that A.D., may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual

of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD

A REDUCED FACSIMILE, from Scharf and Wescott's *History of Philadelphia*. The skull and crossbones take the place of the stamp required by law. This paper resumed publication in one week *without stamps*.

the Virginia House of Burgesses the young Patrick Henry introduced stirring resolutions declaring the Stamp Act illegal and asserting that the colonists had the *right to resist* such unjust laws *with force*.

Henry represented the small farmers of the western counties of Virginia and had been in the House only a few days. When this tall, lanky Westerner, dressed in unfashionable homespun, rose and introduced his daring resolutions with fiery eloquence, the aristocratic leaders of the colony, in their powdered wigs and lace ruffles, were horrified. But the young orator from the back country carried the As-

sembly with him by a speech which ended with the famous words: "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third" — Here the aristocratic leaders interrupted with cries of "Treason! Treason!"; but Henry went on undismayed — "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

The Stamp Act Congress. — Henry's resolutions "rang the alarm bell for the continent." In October, 1765, delegates from nine colonies came together in New York, in what is known as the "Stamp Act Congress." That gathering drew up a Declaration of the Rights of the colonists, and petitioned for the repeal of the law. This was the first time that so many colonies of *their own free will* had attempted to act together.

Who had called the Albany Congress? Which do you think a greater step toward a permanent union — the Albany Congress or the Stamp Act Congress? List all such steps as we go on. You should understand that at this time the word "Congress" had never been used to mean a *governing* body, but only a gathering for *consultation*.

The colonists now formed "associations" to "boycott" English goods until the act should be repealed. Fashionable ladies got out old disused spinning wheels; and people agreed not to eat mutton, so that American wool might be more plentiful.

This plan proved effective. *English merchants* now joined the colonists in petitions for repeal of the law. The question was hotly debated. Pitt astonished Parliament by exclaiming, "I rejoice that America has resisted!" And in 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed.

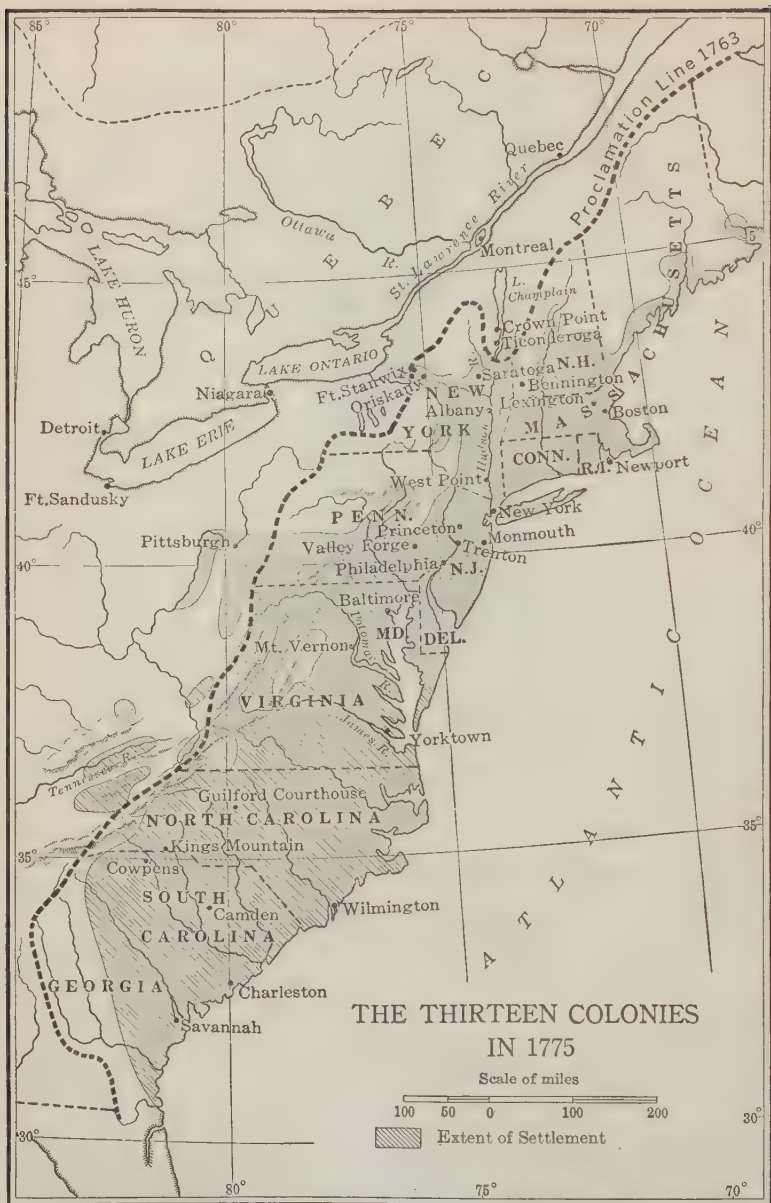
The colonies celebrated the repeal with as much enthusiasm as they had opposed the law. Bells were rung in every town, and addresses of thanks were sent to the Eng-



IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
OF HIS SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY IN GENERAL
AND TO AMERICA IN PARTICULAR
THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED
THIS STATUE
OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT ESQR
WHO
SERIOUSLY EXERTED HIMSELF
IN DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF AMERICANS
THE TRUE SONS OF ENGLAND
BY PROMOTING A REPEAL
OF THE STAMP ACT
IN THE YEAR 1766

.

This Statue of William Pitt is the oldest life-size statue in America. After the "Repeal," New York and South Carolina each engaged the most famous English sculptor of the time to make a marble statue of America's champion in Parliament. This one still stands in a public square in Charleston — though one arm was carried away by a British cannon ball during the siege of the city in the Revolution. One side of the pedestal bears the inscription given here.



Use this Map for all the Story of the Revolution.

The colonists had been forbidden to settle west of the "Proclamation Line" (p. 145).

lish government. The fashionable world put off its homespun to go about once more in imported silks and satins.

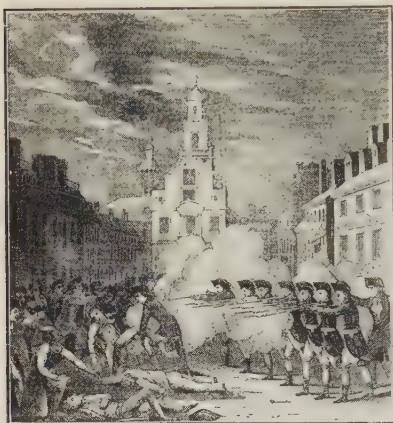
But more trouble was already brewing. In 1767 a new minister, *Charles Townshend*, persuaded Parliament to order that tariff duties should be collected at American ports on imported articles such as glass, paper, paints, and tea. Special officials were to be appointed to enforce the law, and any colonist who tried to avoid paying the duties was to be tried in a special court *without a jury*. If a case were appealed, it would have to be tried in England. The colonists were very sure they would never get justice in such courts. Like all Englishmen, they considered the right to a trial by a jury of *their neighbors* the very cornerstone of their liberties.

Worse still, *the money collected was to be used to pay the salaries of the English governors and judges in America*. The colonial assemblies had very largely controlled these officials by keeping the right to pay them their salaries (p. 116). The Townshend Acts would remove this safeguard against tyranny.

So all the disturbances started once more. Assemblies passed resolutions condemning the acts, and governors in turn dissolved the Assemblies. Leading men wrote letters to the papers; stirring speeches were made; new non-importation agreements were signed. Committees were appointed, too, in many colonies to see that the agreements were kept (see handbill, p. 158); and merchants who refused to sign them were often threatened with violence, and were sometimes tarred and feathered.

The English government then sent troops to Boston and New York, to check such disorder. This made matters worse. Difficulties arose constantly in Boston between the townsmen and the troops. Finally, in March, 1770, things came to a head. A crowd of boys and workmen gathered about a soldier keeping guard. They snowballed him and

jeered at him until some of his companions came to his rescue. One of the soldiers was struck. He lost his head and fired. The rest, thinking an order had been given, then fired into the crowd. Five men were killed and several wounded.



"THE BOSTON MASSACRE" — an engraving by Paul Revere, now in the Boston State House.

This "Boston Massacre" aroused tremendous feeling. A town meeting the next day demanded sternly that the troops be removed from the city to the fort in the harbor; and, to prevent a riot, the governor finally consented. The real blame for the trouble lay, of course, neither with the troops nor

with the citizens, but with the government which had been too blind to see that the presence of troops would lead to just such happenings. (See Revere's engraving, facing p. 164.)

The policy of the English government grew steadily more and more stupid and despotic. Grenville's Stamp Act, bad as it was, had at least been intended to provide protection for the colonies. But the Townshend Acts, and others that followed, were aimed chiefly to assert English authority.

The English merchants felt sorely the loss of American trade. So in 1770 Parliament repealed all the duties, except **a tax on tea** — *which was kept merely to make the colonists recognize English authority.* The tax was only three pence a pound. Indeed, it was less than the tax levied in English ports; and, even after paying it, Americans could still buy tea more cheaply than Englishmen could. But the colonists rightly looked upon the arrangement as a sort of bribe.

So, instead of paying this small tax, people pledged themselves not to drink any tea at all. When the tea ships came into port, mobs prevented the owners from landing their cargoes. In Philadelphia the pilots were threatened with tar and feathers if they dared bring in the ships. In Charleston the ships were unloaded, but the tea was merely stored in damp cellars on the wharves, and not offered for sale.

The Boston Tea Party. — In Boston, opposition to the tax was particularly strong; but there the royal governor was as firm as the colonists. When the tea ships arrived, he insisted that the tea must be landed and the tax paid by the importers. Town meetings protested, and bands of citizens stood guard at the wharves so as to give the alarm if the owners should start to unload the tea.

But the law provided that, if the tea were not unloaded within twenty days, the revenue officers, with an armed force of marines, must unload it. On the last afternoon of the twenty days (December 16, 1773), a monster town meeting was held, and a final plea made that the ships might be allowed to sail back without unloading. Patiently the people sat waiting until after nightfall for the answer to their petition. The governor had gone into the country to avoid being found; but the messenger sought him out, and at last, as dusk was falling, returned with his refusal.

Then the chairman of the meeting, Samuel Adams, rose in his place and announced solemnly, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." Immediately, as at an expected signal, a war whoop was heard, and a band of men in Indian war paint and feathers, brandishing tomahawks, rushed down to the wharves. They boarded the tea ships, and, working swiftly and quietly, they emptied the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the sea. Crowds looked on silently, while the "savages" finished their work and vanished. The onlookers could not have said who was among them, but one thing was certain: these *Indians*, as

an English writer says, "all spoke a tongue Sam Adams could understand."

Samuel Adams Organizes Massachusetts. — Of all the patriots in Massachusetts at this time, Samuel Adams was

the ablest leader. He organized clubs to discuss the rights of the colonists and their unjust treatment by Parliament. He had great influence with the town meeting in Boston and even in the other towns of Massachusetts. Now, during the quarrels over taxation, he organized *Committees of Correspondence* throughout the colony, in order to keep all the two hundred little towns in close touch with each other. This made it possible for all the colony to act as a unit, even when the governor dissolved the regular Assembly.

WILLIAM JACKSON,

an *IMPORTER*; at the

BRAZEN HEAD,

North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE,

and *Opposite the Town-Pump, in*

Corn-hill, BOSTON.

It is desired that the SONS and DAUGHTERS of *LIBERTY*, would not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring Disgrace upon *themselves*, and their *Posterity*, for ever and ever, AMEN.

BOSTON HANDBILL OF 1769. — Photograph from original in files of Massachusetts Historical Society.

England's attempt to force taxed tea on the colonists had led to the Boston Tea Party. Then an attempt to punish Boston led to a splendid movement to unite the colonies.

The Boston Port Bill. — Boston now paid dear for her ninety-thousand-dollar tea party. The port of Boston was closed, so that she could receive no goods by sea until she had paid for the tea. The charter of Massachusetts, too, was annulled; and General Gage, at the head of a body of troops, was made *military* governor. The towns of the colony were to hold no more town meetings, except with his

consent. By these measures Parliament hoped to force Massachusetts to recognize its authority.

First Continental Congress. — But the news of these acts to punish Massachusetts was the signal for a storm of protest from the other colonies. The Virginia House of Burgesses set aside June 1, 1774 (the day on which the port of Boston was to be closed) as a day of fasting and prayer, "devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy Calamity which threatens Destruction of our Civil Rights and the Evils of Civil War." The royal governor answered this threat of war by dissolving the Assembly; but the members met again, informally, the next day, and issued a call to the other colonies for "a general congress" to decide what could be done.

So in October, 1774, all the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to Philadelphia to attend the "First Continental Congress." There four important measures were passed. As at the Stamp Act Congress, a Declaration of Rights was drawn up, along with petitions to the king and the people of England. The other two measures were more revolutionary. (1) Congress recommended to the colonies a *continental non-importation "association,"* to be enforced by the colonial governments. This, it was hoped, would be more effective than the local associations had been and would result in a complete boycott of English goods. (2) The closing act of the Congress was to provide that there should be a *Second Continental Congress* the next May, in case the troubles with England were not settled.

Many other things at this same time showed a growth of feeling in favor of closer union. At the suggestion of Virginia the colonies had all organized Committees of Correspondence, like the smaller committees for single towns in Massachusetts. These Committees had kept the leaders in touch with each other, till they had come to feel that

an injury to one colony was an injury to all. Patrick Henry exclaimed in a debate in the First Continental Congress, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."



WASHINGTON AT FORTY. — Painted by Peale in 1772 (the year before the Boston Tea Party). This portrait is now at the *Washington and Lee University*. A copy of it has been presented by Americans to Sulgrave Manor (p. 68). Washington wears the uniform of a Virginia colonel of militia.

So, as a result of the Boston Port Bill, petty jealousies were for the time forgotten. The bill had ruined the business of Boston, and the people there were soon in danger of suffering for food. But the neighboring towns, and even distant colonies, sent in generous supplies. Free gifts of rice and sugar from South Carolina, and of flour and grain from the Middle Colonies, were landed at neighboring ports and taken overland to Boston. From Connecticut came Israel Putnam, driving before him his

flock of sheep. And George Washington wrote from Virginia, "If need be I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston."

There now began also a general movement to prepare for armed resistance. In Massachusetts Samuel Adams built up a militia, who armed themselves and drilled secretly.

One fourth of them were called *Minute Men* and were prepared to go to the defense of American liberties at a moment's notice. So, too, in other colonies. Royal governors had dismissed several Assemblies (as in Virginia) for passing resolutions of sympathy for Boston. But in such cases the people chose informal "Provincial Conventions," without the consent of the governors; and these conventions began to raise money for equipping troops. In ringing words Patrick Henry urged the people of Virginia to arm themselves: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. List all the reasons you can why it was not easy to get the colonies to unite. Why *did* they unite?
2. How are taxes raised to meet the expenses of our government now? Why do not the people object to paying them?
3. Make a list of unpopular measures passed by Parliament, and name all the means used by the colonists to oppose each one.
4. What means of opposition was most useful? Why?
5. Do you think the colonists were right in feeling it would be hard for them to get justice in an English court?
6. A cartoonist at the time of the quarrels between the colonies and England would have found many good subjects for cartoons. Let the class try drawing some.

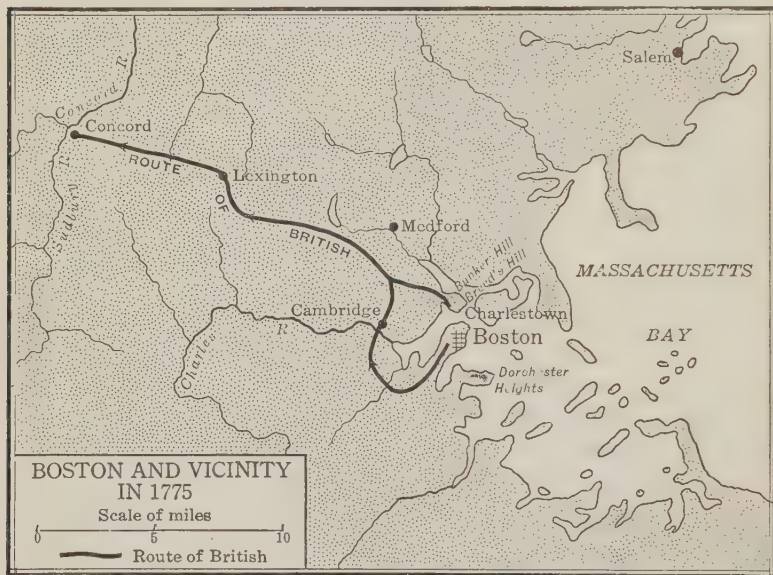
II. EIGHT YEARS OF WAR, 1775-1783

Lexington and Concord. — In April, 1775, General Gage, in Boston, received orders from England to arrest Samuel Adams and some other patriot leaders. About the same time he learned that the Americans were gathering arms at Concord, eighteen miles away.

So on April 18 he ordered eight hundred of his men on a

secret night march to seize the arms, and, on the way, to stop at Lexington, where Adams was staying, to make the arrests.

Boston was on a peninsula connected with the mainland by only a narrow neck; and British pickets guarded the roads out of the city. But *Dr. Warren*, one of the leading patriots of Boston, had suspected what was afoot, and had



arranged to send the news in another way. Lantern signals from a church steeple flashed the alarm to *Paul Revere* and *William Dawes*, who were waiting with their horses on the mainland across the river. Through the night the riders galloped from village to village with the news, well ahead of the troops. Adams was hurried into hiding, and the Minute Men gathered in arms.

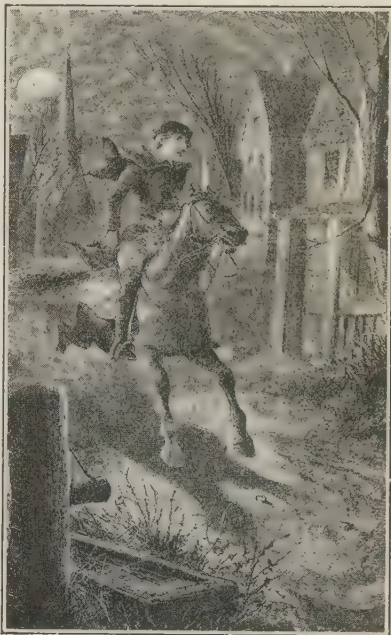
When at daylight the body of British troops reached Lexington, a few miles from Concord, they encountered a straggling line of about sixty men armed with muskets.

The British officer rode up to them, shouting angrily, "Disperse, ye rebels!" The Americans kept their ranks. It was hopeless for them to try to stop the march of a whole British regiment, but they might at least gain time. "Stand your ground!" said their captain: "Don't fire unless fired upon. But if they mean to have war let it begin here!" A single shot was fired — then a whole volley; and eight Minute Men fell, the first to die for American independence.

The British went on to Concord, where they destroyed what ammunition the Americans had not had time to carry away. By this time the militia had gathered in greater numbers. Men and boys came running from every direction, musket in hand. As a British officer said, "They seemed to drop from the sky." At Concord Bridge, where a little guard of British soldiers had been left,

there was a brief struggle, and the British guard was forced to retreat. Fighting Indian fashion, behind rocks, trees, and fences, the Americans then pursued the redcoats all the way to Boston. *The War for Independence had begun.*

The thrilling news was carried by post riders from colony to colony. But even with messengers riding night and day, the word was six days in reaching Philadelphia; and three weeks in reaching Charleston. **Meanwhile, without delay,**



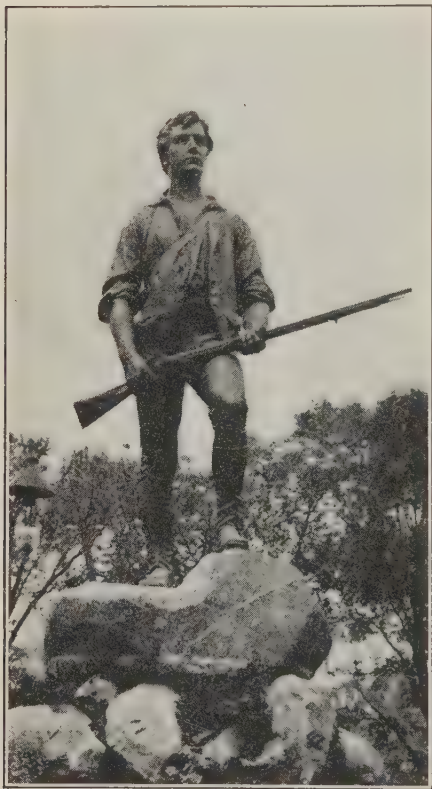
PAUL REVERE'S RIDE.

"A hurry of hoofs in a village street!"

the men of Massachusetts had begun to besiege the British troops in Boston ; and in this task they were soon joined by reinforcements from neighboring colonies. The British had fortified Boston Neck, and their ships occupied the harbor.

But they were not able to keep the colonial militia from gathering on the heights near by.

The Americans now decided to fortify **Bunker Hill**, one of the heights nearest the harbor. The militia that were sent under cover of night to occupy this place advanced even further, to Breed's Hill, — a sort of shoulder of Bunker Hill, and still nearer the city. On the morning of June 17, the British were amazed to see threatening earthworks there. Gage gave orders to dislodge the rebels at once. The British first bombarded the hill, but with no effect. Next, regiments of redcoats were ferried



LEXINGTON STATUE OF THE MINUTE MAN.
A photograph.

across the river and landed at Charlestown. Then they moved forward in military order over fences and across plowed fields, toward the silent earthworks. The people of Boston, watching anxiously from their housetops, began to wonder if perhaps their countrymen had not run away.



THE LANDING OF THE TWO BRITISH REGIMENTS AT BOSTON IN 1768 (p. 155). — An engraving by Paul Revere. Revere's inscription (not given here) speaks of the "insolent parade" of the landing, — the soldiers carrying loaded muskets and burning "match." Such conduct explains events leading to the "Massacre."



LEXINGTON GREEN. — The stone marks the first bloodshed of the Revolution. With a good glass you can read Captain Parker's words engraved upon it. Among those who fell was the patriot Harrington, who dragged himself to his home (shown across the Green) to die on its steps.

The "Green" was the village "Common." The broad elm-shaded street between it and the Harrington home was typical of many a New England village.



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL. — A painting by Trumbull in the Capitol. This is the final British charge, when the American powder had given out. The fallen man in the foreground is Dr. Warren (p. 162).



BATTLE OF MONMOUTH (p. 178). — A painting by D. M. Carter. Molly Pitcher had been bringing a pail of water to the thirsty gunners (the battle took place near her home). When her husband fell, she took his place in loading a cannon; on the right you can see Washington on his white charger *Lexington*.

But suddenly, when the British troops were almost under the walls, there was a blaze of fire from the little fort. Whole ranks of men were mowed down by the devastating volleys. Officers fell by the dozen. Behind the redoubt, Colonel Prescott had ordered his men: "Wait until you see the whites of their eyes!" and long training as hunters and woodsmen and in the Indian wars had taught the colonists never to waste a shot.

This deadly fire checked the bold advance of the British troops. Down the hill they retired in confusion. There they rallied and charged up the hill once more, only to be driven back a second time with terrible slaughter. A third time they advanced over the bodies of their dead officers and comrades, and this time there was only a scattering fire from the redoubt. The Americans had fired their last round of powder and were forced to retire.

Bunker Hill was left in the hands of the British; but between 1000 and 1500 of their troops were killed or wounded—nearly a third of those engaged. Few battles in modern history up to that time had been so deadly. "I wish," said General Greene, on hearing the news, "that we could sell them another hill at the same price!"

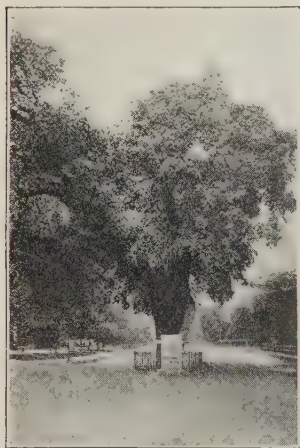
The Americans Organize a Central Government for the War

Meantime, on May 10 the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia (p. 159). For the first time all thirteen colonies were represented in one body. The delegates drew up one last petition to England to right their wrongs; but they could not wait quietly for an answer while the people of New England were already fighting in self-defense. Whether they liked it or not, *they were at war*.

So this Congress promptly organized a *Continental Army* and chose George Washington to be its leader. The delegates had come together, expecting to sit for only a few weeks; but events turned out in such a way that for six long years this

Second Continental Congress acted as the central government of the thirteen colonies.

On July 3 Washington took command of the armies besieging Boston. One wonders if the heart of the stately



THE WASHINGTON ELM at Cambridge. From a photo in 1895. (The tree fell in 1923.) The inscription runs:—

Under This Tree
Washington
First Took Command
of the
American Army
July 3, 1775.

Virginia gentleman did not sink within him as he reviewed his 16,000 raw troops. They were dressed in anything from discarded British uniforms to leather hunting shirts, or in their working clothes just as they had left the farm. They were armed with muskets of every size and variety. Some had served in the French wars, but far the greater number had no idea of military discipline.

As the days passed, the prospect became even more discouraging. When the enlistment terms of two or three months ran out and the harvest called its workers back to their farms, the little army began to melt away. Those who remained needed not only uniforms, but food, blankets, guns, and powder.

Washington was the one man fitted to face these discouragements. As a youth he had gained valuable experience in the French wars, and had shown splendid courage and skill. He had received training as an executive in managing the complicated affairs of his estate,—one of the largest in America. But more important than training and experience was the man himself. His modesty had made him hesitate to accept the command, and he refused to take any pay for his services. But when he had once undertaken

the great task, difficulties that would have discouraged other men only roused in him greater determination.

He was a man of strong passions, but of still stronger will and self-control. He was strict, but with a keen sense of justice. He was slow in speech but swift in action; and many a time during the years to come he saved a difficult situation by acting before his opponents had time to consider what he was going to do. He overcame a long series of hardships and reverses as no one else could have done, and turned a succession of defeats into a great victory.

At first the Americans Felt that They were Fighting only for Their
Rights as Englishmen; but soon They Decided to
Become an Independent Nation

For nearly a year after the fighting began, most of the colonists still hoped sincerely that England would repeal the laws they disliked, and that peace would soon be restored. They had always been proud of the fact that they enjoyed the "rights of Englishmen," and it was to preserve these rights that they had first protested against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts. Meetings which had signed such protests proceeded to drink the healths of the king and the royal family. Even after he took charge of the troops at Boston, George Washington declared that any idea of independence was "abhorrent" to him.

But for some time a few far-seeing men like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry had been urging that the colonies must declare themselves independent. And after nearly a year of war, many people began to think the same thing. There were several reasons for this change.

1. In the first place George III had refused even to read the last earnest petition from Congress. Instead he had issued a proclamation declaring the Americans rebels and had ordered more troops to America to subdue them. Indeed,

unable to enlist enough men at home, he had hired foreign troops from Hesse in Germany.

2. The governors of most of the colonies had dissolved the regular Assemblies, and had refused to call others. In their place, we have seen, the colonists had elected new "Provincial Conventions" of their own. These "revolutionary" bodies had chosen executive committees (Committees of Safety) and prepared for war. *They had governed their colonies in other matters, too, without regarding the English governors at all, and had really become new State governments.* The people liked this taste of independence.

3. The American leaders realized that if they were to win the war, they must get help. The king of France might aid them—but not if he thought that he would merely be helping a part of the English empire to better itself: what he wanted was to see the British empire break up.

4. In January, 1776, a pamphlet, *Common Sense*, appeared, written by *Thomas Paine*, a recent immigrant to Virginia from England. Suppose England did yield this time, Paine argued, had not experience shown that her yielding one day was no guarantee that she would not advance another claim the next? Let the Americans throw off the chains that bound them to the past, he urged, and begin a new age on the shores of a new world. This pamphlet circulated widely and helped rouse men to the belief that a declaration of independence was the only reasonable step.

5. Finally in March, 1776, Washington and the Continental army drove the British from Boston. Months before, the two British forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain had been taken by the "Green Mountain Boys" under *Ethan Allen* and *Seth Warner*. In these forts were cannon and ammunition badly needed by Washington. But there were no roads over the mountains; and the heavy

guns could not be dragged across to Boston till the snows of winter came. When he did receive them, however, Washington fortified Dorchester Heights and prepared to bombard Boston. The British then promptly evacuated the city, escaping by sea. This recovery of the principal city in New England gave the colonists new hope.

The Declaration of Independence. — Independence had now come to be the most discussed question in America. A few colonies held back, uncertain as to the wisest course. But Virginia instructed her delegates to take the matter up at once in the Continental Congress; and on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from that colony, moved the resolution that these colonies “are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.”

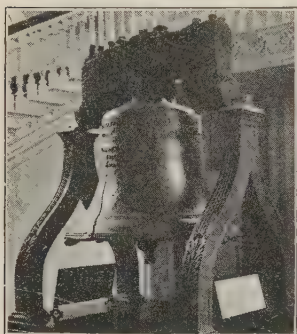
Congress still put off final action for three weeks, so that delegates who had not received instructions from home might be able to get them. But it did at once appoint a committee to draw up a formal Declaration, to be ready when the matter came up again. The young *Thomas Jefferson*, one of the delegates from Virginia, was made chairman of this committee, and wrote the Declaration.

On the day set for considering Lee’s resolution, Congress debated it hotly. Some thought such action quite unnecessary and wrong; and others felt that it was at least too hasty. New York’s delegates had not yet received instructions, and withdrew without voting at all. But finally on *July 2* the resolution was adopted by the vote of the other twelve colonies. A few days later a newly elected convention in New York instructed its delegates to agree. This made the action unanimous for the thirteen States.

Meantime on *July 4*, the formal *Declaration of Independence*, as drawn up by Jefferson’s committee, was adopted by Congress. The news of this great step was spread as quickly as possible throughout the new States, and the

Declaration was publicly proclaimed to the armies and to the people. Everywhere bells were rung, bonfires were lighted, cannon were fired, and there was great rejoicing. The Americans now had a real cause for which to fight, a country they could call their own.

The Fourth of July was later selected as the birthday of our nation. John Adams had suggested the *Second* as the



Keystone ©.

THE LIBERTY BELL, whose story every child knows:

proper day, and of course the adoption of the resolution on that day did really decide the question. But though we have celebrated the Fourth instead of the Second of July, the way in which we celebrate is much as Adams suggested in a letter to his wife written July 2: "It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows,

games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forever more."

The Declaration of Independence is one of the Great Documents of Human Liberty

The first paragraphs explain in the clearest and simplest language what American patriots believed to be the *duties of government* and the *rights of citizens*: "All men are created equal," and have a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Governments derive their just powers "from the consent of the governed." "Whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it."

These *ideas* did not originate in Jefferson's mind, of course.

They were familiar to all men of his day who thought on such subjects. But he did put the ideas into stirring and eloquent words, so that the opening part of the great Declaration has ever since served the world as an inspiring statement of the principles underlying all free governments.

The second part of the Declaration was a statement of the causes why the colonies had found the English government unjust. (Look over that statement, in the Appendix, and see how many of the causes you have read about.)

The third part consisted simply in the declaration, "That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

Many people in every colony were opposed to independence. Such men called themselves *Loyalists*, and they were called *Tories* by the patriots. Many of them were indifferent and selfish people who were satisfied with things as they were and wished only to be allowed to go about their business undisturbed. Some had held offices under the old government, and others were merchants who had been unwilling to sign the "Association." But many others were men who had taken an active part in *protesting* against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, but who believed it was wrong to *take up arms* against the mother country. Such men had hoped to remedy evils without using force; and after Lexington they deserted the patriot cause. They condemned the Adamses and Jefferson and Henry as dangerous men, and believed that independence would mean anarchy (no government at all). Many such Loyalists showed a fine courage in standing up for their principles. They were conservatives, and they feared the changes that radical

patriots hoped for. They were honest, but they fought against human progress.

The presence of the Tories in the colonies was one of the greatest difficulties faced by the new American government. It made people suspicious of their neighbors. The patriots never knew when they were being spied on. The Tories helped the British armies get supplies. Thousands of them even took up arms for England. Thus our War for Independence was really a *civil war*, in which friends became enemies, and brother fought against brother.

The new State governments treated the Tories with great severity as traitors to the American cause. Their lands were confiscated, their property destroyed, and they themselves were driven from the country. After the Revolution, a few were allowed to come back, but most of them remained British citizens in Canada or England. In fact a Canadian writer has said that they were "the makers of Canada."

In order to carry on the war at all, the British must hold some port at which to land their troops and supplies. After being forced out of Boston, they moved upon New York.

The remaining campaigns of 1776 were fought in New York and New Jersey. Washington hastened southward from Boston, to defend New York against General Howe, who was now in command of the British army. He was not able to save the city, and his army was not strong enough to meet the British in open battle; but, by skillful marches and retreats, he kept Howe from occupying more than a few scattered villages outside New York City.

The fact that their army was obliged to retreat at all, however, caused great gloom among the Americans. But just at the close of the year, Washington changed this discouragement to enthusiasm by a brilliant victory at *Trenton*. The one thousand Hessian soldiers holding Trenton cele-

brated Christmas day with no suspicion that they would be attacked. Washington and his army were on the other side of the broad, swift Delaware, which was half frozen over and full of floating cakes of ice. But on Christmas night, with plucky fishermen from the Massachusetts regiments to pilot his boats, Washington crossed the river with a small force. The night was bitter cold and stormy, and two of his men were frozen to death. The little army had



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

still to march nine miles through the sleet. They reached Trenton just at dawn, before their movements were suspected. The surprised Hessians surrendered after a feeble resistance, during which Washington lost only two more men.

This news cheered the patriots and angered the enemy. The British in New York had thought the Americans nearly beaten, and Cornwallis, one of their generals, had already sent his baggage aboard a ship about to sail for England. Now Howe hurried him into New Jersey to stop Washington's

march. He pitched camp one night right opposite Washington's army, ready, as he said, to "bag the old fox in the morning." But in the morning the "old fox" was far away, having left his camp fires burning during the night to mislead the enemy. Before the main British army could overtake him he had attacked and captured another small British force at *Princeton*. The war was evidently not over after all: it had only begun. Cornwallis drew back to New York, and Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown.

In the Spring of 1777 the British Decide to End
the War in a Vigorous Campaign

The British government now planned to invade the United States from Canada. By pushing down the Hudson valley to New York, they would cut off New England from the rest of the States, and so be able to conquer America in sections. *General Burgoyne* was put in charge of this great expedition, and Howe was ordered to send troops up the Hudson to join him at Albany. Another British force under *Colonel St. Leger* was sent around by way of the Mohawk valley in the hope of gaining the Indians of western New York as allies (map facing p. 155).

The plan was well worked out on paper, but every part of it failed. Burgoyne, in command of eight thousand men, started gayly southward, accompanied by a large retinue of officers with their wives, children, servants, and baggage. At first all went well. He took Ticonderoga and other forts on Lake Champlain, and disembarked at the foot of the lake to march across to the Hudson. But the Americans had been busy, and he found bridges destroyed and great trees felled across his path, so that it took him twenty days to march only twenty miles.

This gave the main force of Americans time to prepare. General Gates was in command in this district, and he had

able assistants in Benedict Arnold, Benjamin Lincoln, Daniel Morgan, Philip Schuyler, and John Stark. (Let members of the class report on these men.) The New England militia swarmed out from their farms to repel the invasion. One band, under John Stark, completely destroyed an expedition of a thousand men sent by Burgoyne to seize American supplies at *Bennington* (in what is now Vermont). Burgoyne's other foraging expeditions also were defeated, and the supplies he was expecting from Canada were cut off. St. Leger, too, was driven back into Canada by Herkimer and Arnold.

Meanwhile Burgoyne was anxiously expecting help from Howe. But that general did not receive from England the instructions to march northward till he was already started on a campaign to take Philadelphia, where Congress had established itself. Washington was unable to save Philadelphia, but once again he made the most of the defeat. He delayed Howe so long that it was impossible for him to help Burgoyne. Alone, Burgoyne could do no more. After two hard-fought battles at Saratoga, he and his whole army surrendered to General Gates.

Burgoyne's Failure was the Turning Point of the War

If Burgoyne's invasion had succeeded, it would have been hopeless for the Americans to resist longer. But now **the English began to feel that a victory over the colonists was almost impossible.** Indeed, Parliament offered to let by-gones be by-gones and to give up all claim to tax the Americans. But this offer came too late. The Americans would no longer accept anything but independence.

And now, too, France came to our aid. For many months Franklin had been in Paris as an agent for Congress, trying to get a treaty of alliance with the French government. The French king and his ministers hated England and wanted to see her weakened, and *secretly* they had given the

Americans some aid in money; but they had not been willing to join the Americans openly as long as the cause seemed hopeless. After Burgoyne's surrender, France signed a treaty of alliance and recognized the United States as an independent nation. She also declared war against England, and promised prompt and generous aid to America in money, men, and ships.

Soon afterward Spain and Holland joined France in war against England. Those two countries did not become allies of the United States; but they helped us greatly because they kept England's army and navy busy in other parts of the world.

The Americans had Many Discouragements, due to Lack of Money, to Poor Organization, to the Inefficiency of Congress, and to the Disloyalty of a Few Leaders

Valley Forge. — The winter after Burgoyne's surrender was one of extreme suffering in the American army. While



Courtesy Cosmopolitan Corporation.

VALLEY FORGE. — From the film, *Janice Meredith*. The central figure is Washington speaking to a group of soldiers who are preparing a meal.

Howe and the British were feasting in Philadelphia, Washington's army was starving at Valley Forge. The soldiers lacked supplies of all kinds. It was a bitterly cold winter, but men had to sleep on the bare ground without blankets. Many were barefoot, and their footsteps could be traced in blood upon the snow.

Still, Washington managed to drill his troops so that by spring they made a better fighting machine than ever before. Their courage and steadfastness were magnificent. Washington said of them: "Naked and starving as they

are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery." And a surgeon at Valley Forge wrote of the common soldier: "Barefoot he labors through Mud and Cold with a Song in his Mouth, extolling War and Washington."

The most serious handicap for the Americans was the weakness of Congress. For one thing, *Congress could not raise taxes*. In the long dispute with Parliament, the people of each colony had insisted that they could be taxed only by the Assembly of their particular colony; and now they would not consent to taxation by *any central* authority, not even by one they themselves had created. Congress could only *ask* the States for money; and the State legislatures always gave much less than was asked. Each was afraid it might pay more than some other.

Continental Currency. — So, to buy supplies for the army, Congress began very soon to issue paper money, as some

of the separate colonies had done earlier (p.135). Nowadays we are glad to take such "promises to pay," when issued by our government, because we *know* that the government can and will keep its promise, and that for a paper dollar we can at any time get from the treasury



a hundred cents in gold if we ask for it. So with us a five-dollar bill will buy just as much as a five-dollar gold-piece. But during the Revolution, people were not at all sure that Congress would ever redeem its "Continental currency." If the war failed, of course the money would be

worthless; and even if the war were won, it was not sure that Congress could ever make these paper promises good.

This Continental currency, therefore, soon began to depreciate (or lose value). In 1777 a paper dollar would buy only fifty cents' worth of goods, and by 1779 only twelve cents' worth. Men said that it took a wagonload of money to buy a wagonload of goods. In 1781 Thomas Paine had to pay three hundred dollars in paper for a pair of woolen stockings. Before long, people refused to accept this currency at all, and "Not worth a continental" became a byword. The Americans must have given up the struggle except for the *French loans* of several millions of dollars *in coin*.

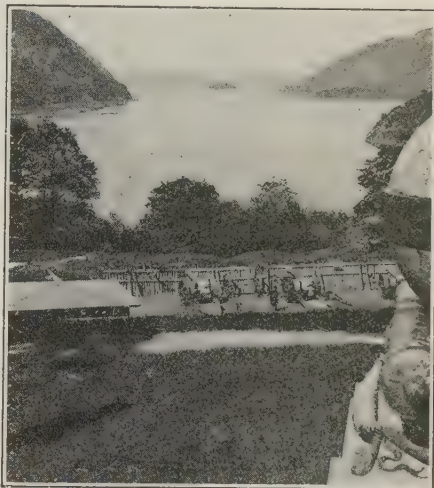
And Congress could not raise soldiers, any more than money. It had to *ask* the States to send men to form a Continental army. But many times a State chose instead to keep its men at home for its own defense. A State legislature, too, often interfered with the appointment of officers in the Continental army, because it feared that its citizens were not getting a fair share of high positions. A more united nation, with a stronger central government, might have shortened the war by several years.

Monmouth. — But though the British army had spent a gay winter at Philadelphia, Washington was able to keep it from gaining any ground in the interior of Pennsylvania. And in the spring of 1778 General Clinton (who had now replaced Howe) thought it best to withdraw from Philadelphia to New York. Washington followed the retreating army closely and attacked it at *Monmouth*, where only the treachery of one of his generals, *Charles Lee*, kept him from capturing a large force.

As long as the British held New York, the most important American positions were the forts on the Hudson. **Benedict**

Arnold, who had distinguished himself by his brilliant exploits, now obtained from Washington the command of *West Point*. Arnold had not been advanced as rapidly as he felt he deserved, and his haughty spirit resented a reprimand he had once received. He now determined to betray *West Point*.

Fortunately his plan was discovered, and *West Point* was saved. Major André, a young British officer who had been sent out from New York to arrange the surrender, was caught in disguise within the American lines, and hanged as a spy. Arnold got early news of André's capture, and escaped. He was given the position in the British army for which he had bargained; but he was despised and insulted by his English associates. He finally died in England, friendless and forlorn, a man without a country.



Keystone ©

WEST POINT TO-DAY — showing how the fortifications command the river.

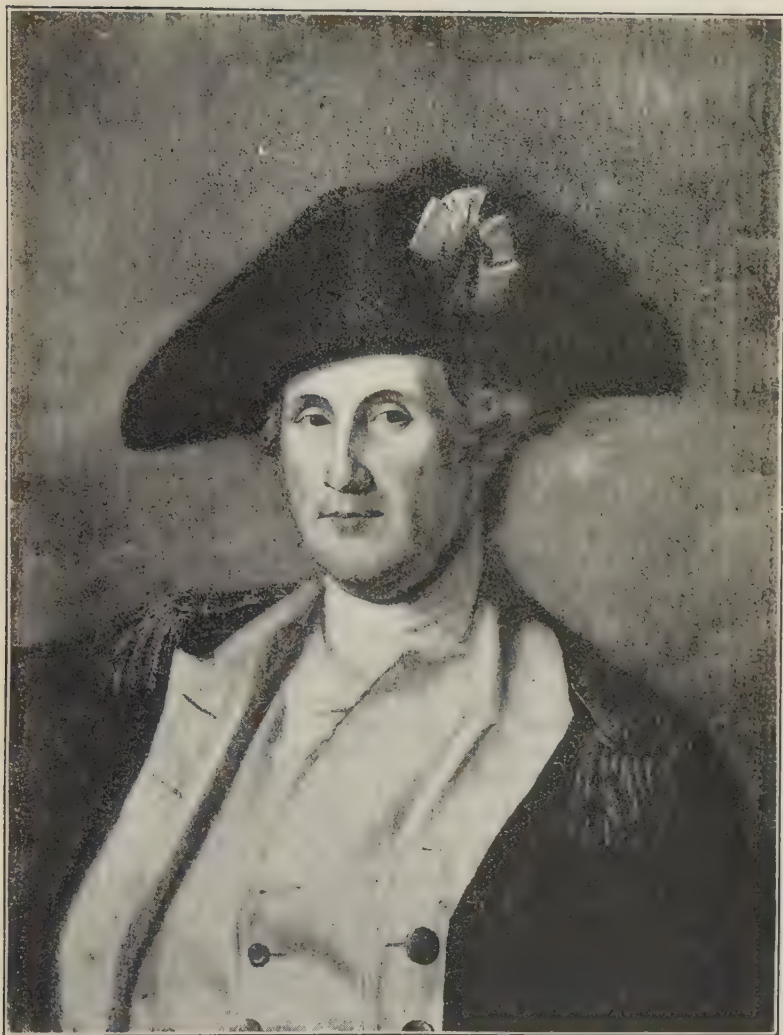
The Conway Cabal. — Just at the time of these treasons of Lee and Arnold, America escaped another peril of a like character. General Gates had been puffed up by the capture of Burgoyne — for which he really deserved only a small part of the credit — and he had listened willingly to flatterers when they spoke slightly of Washington. Gates was a New Englander; and some New England members in Congress were jealous of Washington because he was a Virginian. Then of course there are always critical

people who think they could manage things better if the chance were given them. So now a foreign adventurer in the American army, General Conway, formed a conspiracy to get Congress to replace Washington with Gates.

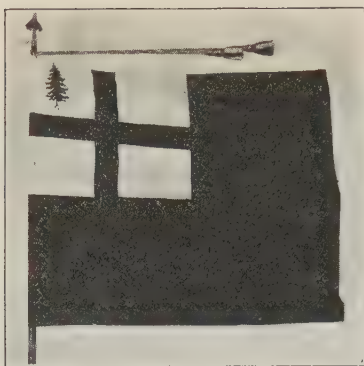
And this "Conway cabal" was dishonest and underhanded in its work. The conspirators circulated falsehoods about Washington, and even passed about privately some *forged* letters that they said had been written by him. Happily the matter came to Washington's attention in time for him to expose the falsehoods, so that the conspiracy collapsed. Events were soon to show what a calamity it would have been if the incompetent Gates had been given a more responsible position than he already had.

On the whole, 1778 and 1779 had been discouraging years. Conway's conspiracy and the treachery of Lee and Arnold spread dismay among the most steadfast patriots. It began to be hard to get new recruits for the army. And in western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, the Iroquois, who had become allies of the British, burned and ravaged the frontier settlements, creating dreadful havoc. Even the long-expected French aid was slow in producing results. The fleet, when it at last arrived, was unable to pass Sandy Hook so as to blockade New York, because the ships drew too much water.

However, the tide was about to turn. The French landed in New England an army under *Count Rochambeau*. Another French fleet under *Admiral De Grasse* in the West Indies kept the main British fleet from coming north, and in the end, as we shall see, played a most important part in winning the war. Moreover, many French officers were already serving as volunteers in the American army — chief among them the young noble, the Marquis de Lafayette, in whom Washington placed great trust.



WASHINGTON AT 45 — the Washington who won the War for Independence. — A portrait painted at Valley Forge by Peale, now owned by the West Chester Normal School in Pennsylvania.



EARLY STEPS IN MAKING THE STARS AND STRIPES.

The first of these two flags was the one the Massachusetts militia used at Bunker Hill. The "ground" is blue; but one corner carried the red cross of St. George (the English symbol) on a white ground. This was "quartered," as you see, by the Pine Tree, an early Massachusetts symbol. (Cf. Pine Tree Shilling, p. 113). You will notice this flag in our picture of Bunker Hill, facing page 165.

The second flag was the "*Flag of the United Colonies*." It was hoisted by the colonial militia early in their siege of Boston, and was adopted by Washington when he took command on July 3, 1775. This was the first flag to use red stripes on a white field (red and white stripes), one stripe for each colony.

A year later (July 4, 1776) the British symbol in the corner had become unsuitable. June 1, 1777, Congress ordered the British crosses replaced by thirteen white stars — one for each of the States of the Union. This first flag of the United States was first used by the American forces in the campaign against Burgoyne, and on the sea, it was first flung to the breeze by John Paul Jones (p. 181). The popular story of how the flag was made is illustrated in the color plate opposite p. 184.

When the first new State was admitted, in 1791, Congress ordered that a new star should be added for each new State.

On the sea Americans were Winning Encouraging Success

Privateers. — To begin with, of course, we had no navy, while England's was the largest in the world. So we could not keep our enemies from blockading our ports and landing their armies where they liked. The only way we could injure England's sea power was by sending out privateers against her commerce. That is, Congress would give the owner of a merchant ship the right to arm it and to go out and seize a British merchant vessel wherever he could find one. These privateers did much damage to English trade, but they were not strong enough to attack a man of war.

John Paul Jones. — With French money, however, we did now obtain a few armed vessels. The largest of these was named *Bonhomme Richard* in honor of Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard*, and was put under the command of John Paul Jones, who had already proved himself a splendid seaman. The *Richard* made a series of daring raids on rich merchant ships in the English Channel itself. Finally it was overtaken by the British man of war *Serapis*. In the stubborn fight which followed, more than half of those engaged were killed or wounded. "Have you struck your colors?" called the English captain, when he saw that the Americans were losing heavily. "I have not yet begun to fight!" Jones shouted back; and the battle continued until the *British* ship was forced to surrender. By that time the *Bonhomme Richard* was afire and sinking; but Captain Jones managed to move his men to the captured vessel and to bring the *Serapis* into a Dutch port. This is his account of the sinking of his own ship:

"No one was left aboard the *Richard* but our dead. The very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the *Bonhomme Richard* was the defiant waving of her unconquered flag as she went down. And as I had given them the grand old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet."

During 1778, too, Hardy Pioneers in the West Won
a Vast Territory for the New Nation

Kentucky Repels Indian Raids. — When the Revolution began, the district between the Ohio and the Great Lakes contained no English-speaking inhabitants — except a few officers and soldiers. There were two old French villages on the Mississippi, at *Kaskaskia* and *Cahokia*, and another at *Vincennes* on the Wabash (map after p. 136). Except for these, and for *Detroit* at the extreme north, the whole region was the hunting ground of roaming Indians.

The French settlers in their scattered villages knew and cared little about the far-away quarrels between England and her colonies; and the British officer who governed the district from his fort at Detroit felt no anxiety about any possible attack by the Americans. Indeed the American frontier settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee seemed to have all they could do to defend themselves against the Indians of the Northwest, — who were stirred up by the British to frequent raids.

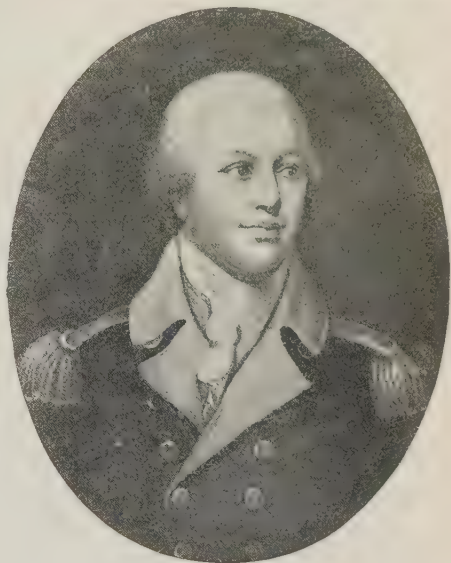
But now a Kentucky hero, *George Rogers Clark*, formed a daring plan to conquer the whole back country. He secured a commission from Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, and collected a small body of one hundred and fifty hardy backwoodsmen, clad for the most part in deerskin shirts and leggings. Early in 1778 this expedition floated down the Ohio on rude rafts and flatboats. In a few weeks Kaskaskia and Cahokia were captured, without bloodshed.

The British commander at Detroit, learning of this exploit from his Indians, hastened down to Vincennes with a considerable body of troops, so as to be ready to recapture the Mississippi towns in the early spring. But *Clark did not wait to be attacked*. Instead, he started out in February, 1779, across a country half drowned by spring floods and freshets, to capture Vincennes! His men waded for days up to their knees, to their waists, and at times even up to

their necks; but Clark did take the British commander and his garrison by surprise and force them to surrender. He then claimed the whole region between the Ohio and the Great Lakes in the name of Virginia.

In three years of fighting the British had gained no ground in New England or the Middle States. In 1778 they decided to keep only New York in the North, and to make a vigorous attempt to conquer the South.

Campaigns in South Carolina and Georgia. — Early in the war the British had tried to take Charleston, but General Moultrie from his rude fort of palmetto logs in the harbor had forced them to retreat. In 1779 they were more successful. By the close of 1780 they had occupied Savannah and Charleston, and were advancing into the interior. Small bands of patriots gathered under daring leaders like Sumter and Marion (the "Swamp Fox") and made constant raids and surprise attacks on the troops of Cornwallis, the British leader; but they were not able to keep him from gaining control of most of South Carolina and Georgia.



NATHANAEL GREENE.

Congress sent Gates to stop this advance; but he was defeated disgracefully by Cornwallis at *Camden*. The British triumph was partly checked by a band of pioneers from west of the mountains. Led by Sevier, they captured a de-

tachment of Cornwallis' troops in a bloody battle at *King's Mountain*.

Gates was now replaced by Greene, who, next to Washington, proved to be the best general in the American army. His force was too small for him to meet the main British army; but he kept Cornwallis marching fruitlessly up and down the Carolinas. Meantime, he sent Morgan and "Light Horse" Harry Lee to help Sumter and Marion farther south; and in January of 1781 these commanders destroyed a force of Tories and British regulars at *Cowpens*.

Greene himself had lured Cornwallis with the main British army toward the north, away from their base of supplies. At *Guilford Court House* the two armies fought an indecisive battle — which really amounted to a victory for the smaller American force. For now Cornwallis had a hard choice. He needed supplies badly. But if he should turn back to the south, it would look as if he thought himself beaten. If he stayed where he was, it would be impossible for him to get either men or supplies. He finally decided to march northward to Virginia. There he encamped at *Yorktown*, where, he thought, he could easily receive supplies and aid by sea from the West Indies or from Clinton in New York.

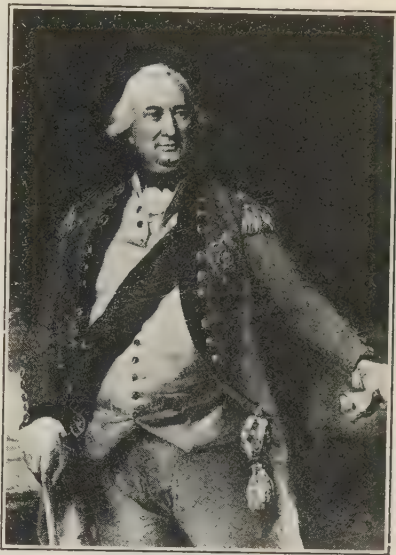
The Capture of Yorktown. — This British move fitted exactly into Washington's plans. He had just received a secret message from De Grasse in the West Indies (p. 180) that the French fleet would soon be in Chesapeake Bay. He began at once to collect troops near New York (as if to try to take that city), and summoned Rochambeau to join him (p. 180). Meantime, he ordered Lafayette down into Virginia to watch Cornwallis. The British commander paid little attention to Lafayette, whom he considered only an inexperienced boy, and he continued to count on help from New York.



© J. L. G. Ferris

BETSY ROSS MAKING THE FLAG.

But Clinton was sure that Washington was getting ready to attack New York, so he did not dare send any of his men away. This was just what Washington wanted him to think. And as soon as the French army arrived from New England, Americans and French left the outwitted Clinton behind and marched swiftly southward. As they reached the head of the Chesapeake, they received word that De Grasse's fleet had been sighted. The dignified and reserved Washington embraced his fellow officers and laughed and wept with joy.



CORNWALLIS, — a portrait by Gainsborough. Early in the war, Cornwallis repulsed an attack on Quebec. The retreating Americans were obliged to leave many wounded to die in the woods in the Canadian winter. Cornwallis sent out word that if such fugitives would give themselves up, they would be treated kindly and, when well, set free. This promise was kept. Said he, — "Since we cannot compel the Americans to accept us as brothers, let us try at least to make them think of us as cousins."

Cornwallis was taken completely by surprise. De Grasse prevented his escaping or receiving any help by sea, while Washington and Rochambeau besieged him with overwhelming forces on every land side. There was but one thing for him to do; and on October 17, 1781, he surrendered his entire army of seven thousand men. The French and American armies were drawn up in two long lines, and the British troops marched out between them while their bands played the old British air, "The World Turned Upside Down."

In both England and America everyone realized that this surrender meant the end. For a year longer the

warmly attached to him. Lafayette served with great credit all through the war; and afterward, through a long lifetime, he served the cause of liberty nobly in his own country.

Among other distinguished foreigners who became volunteers in the American army were the French officer *De Kalb*, the Poles *Kosciusko* and *Pulaski*, and the Prussian *von Steuben*, who was the efficient drill master of the American troops during the dark winter at Valley Forge.

After the Capture of Yorktown, the Warring Countries Sent
Delegates to Paris to Discuss Terms of Peace

By the treaty of 1783, Great Britain recognized the *independence of the United States* and promised to withdraw her troops from American territory. *That territory was to be bounded* on the north by the Great Lakes and Canada, on the west by the Mississippi, and on the south by the thirty-first parallel. The strip of land between that parallel and the Gulf of Mexico was returned by England to Spain, along with Florida; and Spain, you remember, held also the land west of the Mississippi (p. 129).

The treaty also gave the Americans *the right to fish off the coast of Newfoundland* — a right which England refused to all other foreign nations. This fishing right was a great help to the New Englanders, who could now send out their fleets every year to the fishing grounds, just as they had done when they were part of the British empire.

On the other hand, the United States promised that the States should not try to prevent British merchants from collecting the debts that Americans had owed them before the war. (This very reasonable provision, Americans are now sorry to remember, was not well kept, for Congress proved too weak to enforce its treaty promise upon the States.)

England had also *asked* to have the Tories paid for the property taken from them during the war. Our repre-



THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS. — A painting in the Capitol by Trumbull. In order not to humiliate Cornwallis, Washington excused him from being present. He also left the British officers their side arms, and ordered his own troops not to cheer. Said he, "They have fought too well for us to triumph over them."



MAIN STREET OF YORKTOWN TO-DAY. — It has changed hardly at all since Cornwallis' surrender — except for two things. What are they?



SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY OF 1783. — An unfinished painting by Benjamin West, an early American artist. You probably can recognize Franklin and Adams (from other portraits of them in this book). The standing figure on the left is John Jay (of Huguenot descent), who played the chief part in the negotiations and who, a few years later, became the first Chief Justice of the United States.

sentatives would not agree to that. Finally a provision was adopted that Congress should *recommend* the States to repay the Tories; — though the American commissioners said frankly at the time that the States would refuse to do so. (At a later time, England herself appropriated large sums of money to help the exiled loyalists.)

On the whole, America got everything she asked. Indeed we got more than our ally France had expected or desired. The French government would have been quite willing to keep America weak enough so that it would have to continue to depend closely upon French guidance and aid. Indeed, it had proposed that the western lands (between the Appalachians and the Mississippi) should be divided between England and Spain, and that the United States should be shut up between the Appalachians and the Atlantic. At the end, the French minister, Vergennes, wrote in chagrin, — “The English buy the peace, rather than make it. . . . Their concessions regarding boundaries, fisheries, and the loyalists, exceed anything I had thought possible.”

These good terms were due partly to the marked ability of the American negotiators, — *John Jay, John Adams, and Franklin*; but much credit for the result must be given also to the goodwill of the new English government. During the war the English prime minister had been Lord North, an obedient servant of George III; but after Yorktown the king was obliged to dismiss North and appoint to the chief places in the government a group of statesmen who all through the war had been known as “Friends of America.” These men now sought, as one of them said, “not merely peace but reconciliation.”

In spite of all this, the war left great bitterness among many people on both sides, as all wars do. But it is worth while for young Americans to know, that, for the last half century at least, all Englishmen have agreed that America was right. Indeed, English textbooks tell English boys and

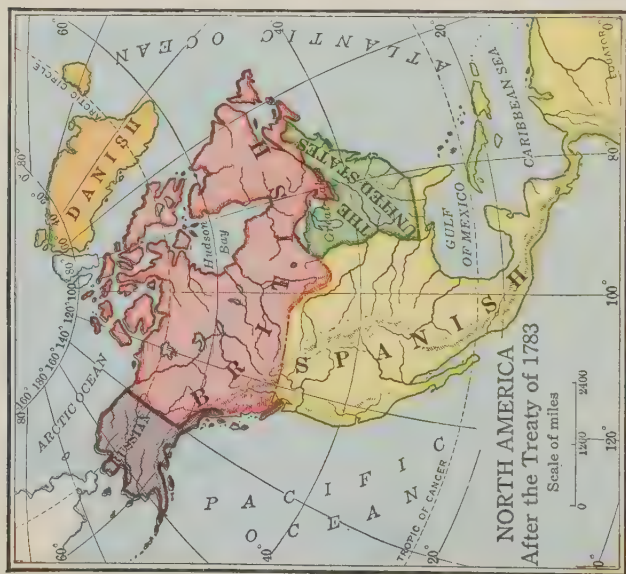
girls that Americans fought for just the same rights that Englishmen had fought for from time to time for centuries against tyrannical kings. Those books, too, are careful to teach young Englishmen that Washington was among the best and greatest of men.

FURTHER READINGS

It would be interesting for each member of the class to choose one incident or leader of the Revolution on which to read further, and then report to the class. More detailed accounts can be found in Barstow, *Colonists and the Revolution*; Becker, *Eve of the Revolution*; Brooks, *Story of the Old Bay State*; Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*; Eggleston, *Life in the Eighteenth Century*; Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*; McMurry, *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*; Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; and Men Who Made the Nation; Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*; West, *Source Book in American History*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Why have Americans commemorated a *defeat* by raising a monument on Bunker Hill?
2. Show on the map the ports seized by the British during the Revolution. Locate the important battles. Explain the statement that Washington and Greene won victories by *retreating*.
3. What do you consider the chief advantages of the British? Of the Americans? The chief disadvantages of each?
4. Make a list of the ways in which the French helped us.
5. Would it be possible to-day for a commander to be surprised as Cornwallis was surprised by Washington?
6. What was the history of *your* State during the Revolution?
7. Draw a *time line* for the period from 1600 to now. Mark on it the dates of the founding of Jamestown and of the Declaration of Independence. Does this give you any new idea as to time divisions in our history?





THE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1785-1798, *designed by Thomas Jefferson.*
Architects in America were just beginning to follow Greek and Roman models.

CHAPTER XII

UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Victory in the Revolution brought Americans independence from England, but it did not at once bring them order and prosperity. The new country had still some serious evils to remedy; and it proved hard to do this because of the weakness of the central government. In this chapter we shall try to see what the chief evils were. Then, in the following chapter we shall see how the people cured them by adopting a new Constitution, under which we still live.

The new United States in 1783 was wondrously rich in its natural resources and in its people. No one yet realized the value of its splendid treasures of forest and prairie, its wealth of waterpower, its deposits of iron, coal, and copper. No European country approached it either in the *variety* or the *vastness* of its natural opportunities. And, more important still, no country in the world had a population so intelligent,

so full of restless energy and sturdy independence, so well fitted, in short, to make use of this natural wealth.

But the new nation did not have a suitable government ; and for some years the outlook was full of gloom. The war had left ruin and loss and many difficult problems, as war always does. The disbanded and long-unpaid soldiers had to find work ; damaged property had to be repaired ; business had to be built up again. Even a strong government finds it hard to meet such problems : the United States had to grapple with them under a government altogether too weak for the job. *To build a strong central government for the union was the first necessity.*

The separate States had already formed fairly satisfactory State governments. The thirteen constitutions had many points in common. They all provided for governors and judges, who were now chosen by the people instead of by



WALL STREET IN NEW YORK, ABOUT 1783.

a king or proprietor ; they provided also for legislatures, elected by the people, to lay taxes and make laws. *All* branches of the new governments, instead of only parts of them, rested on the "will of the people."

Of course "government by the people" did not mean to our forefathers just what it means to us. In

1783 there was not a country in all the world in which every man had the right to vote ; and as for women, no one considered the possibility of their having any share in the government. England was the only large country of Europe where the people had *anything* to say about how they were governed ; but in England only about one man in thirty had

the right to vote. America was far more democratic than that; but even here a **man's right to vote** was still based on his ownership of property and sometimes on his religion.

At that, more people could vote in the new States than in the colonies. From the beginning of the troubles with England, nearly all the working men of the cities were active in the cause of freedom. They made up the "Sons of Liberty," and (though most of them had not been allowed to vote for the regular colonial Assemblies) they did help elect the "provincial conventions." The patriot leaders, even when they were quite aristocratic themselves, *welcomed all the support they could get.*

As these "provincial conventions" grew into State governments (p. 168) they naturally gave the vote to the people who had helped make them. Thus **the American Revolution did more than free America from the rule of kings and of England: it made America itself more democratic.** To be sure, taking the country as a whole, only about one man out of five could vote even then; but this was far ahead of the rest of the world.

**The States Found their State Governments More Satisfactory
than their Central Government. This Was One Reason
Why Many Men Feared *Any* Real Union**

The Articles of Confederation. — It was plain to everyone that the new States needed *some* central government, though most people feared to give much power to one. After long discussion and delay, Congress in 1777 agreed on a written constitution called the *Articles of Confederation*; but it was not until four years later (1781) that the plan was accepted by all the States, so that it could go into effect.

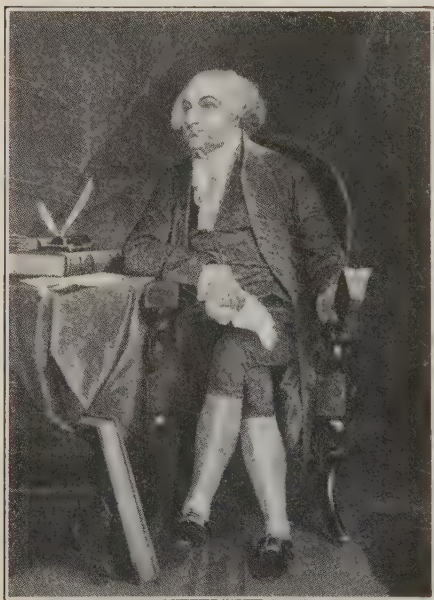
Since 1775 the Continental Congress had been doing just what seemed necessary as the need arose, — as far at least as the feeling of the people would let it. The Articles of

Confederation now told exactly how the central government was to be formed, and what it might or might not do.

The government was very simple *in form*,—merely a central congress, like the Continental Congress, made up of delegates from the thirteen States. In this Congress each State had one vote, no matter what its size: whether it was small like Delaware, or ten or twelve times as large, like Virginia.

The powers given this Congress were those the Second Continental Congress had found it necessary to exercise.

It could regulate the postoffices and the coinage and the standard of weights and measures, and make treaties; but it could not tax, nor regulate commerce. It could *ask* the States for money, or for men for the army; but *it had no means of enforcing any of its laws*; and there was no President, and no Supreme Court, such as we have to-day.



JOHN ADAMS. Adams was our minister to England during these troubled years. Notice the size of the books (the usual form of valuable books in that day) and the quill pens in the ink stand. You can see the same sort of things in the picture of Washington facing p. 236.

The new government was too weak to secure respect from foreign nations or good treatment from them.

1. England refused to withdraw her troops from our Northwest forts (such as Niagara and Detroit), because Congress was unable to keep

its promise about the old debts due British merchants (p. 188). So we could not even get possession of our own territory !

2. Trade with the British West Indies was very important to us (p. 134). Now that we were no longer part of the British empire, the English Navigation Acts shut us out from that trade. Congress asked England for a new treaty to open it to us. But she refused haughtily on the ground that Congress had failed to keep the treaty of 1783.

3. Year by year the States gave only small fractions of the money that Congress asked for ; so our government could not pay its debt to France, or even the interest. Congress wanted very much to borrow more money abroad ; but of course no country would lend.

Indeed, Congress had not been able even to pay off the **Continental army**. There was danger for a time that the dissatisfied soldiers might take power into their own hands and set up a military rule. Washington's influence proved strong enough to prevent this. (Let some student report upon that story at length.) Finally the men did lay down their arms and go peaceably to their homes. But they had to go " without a farthing in their pockets," — with only some paper promises from Congress.

Since there was no real central control, **the States began to quarrel among themselves**. Connecticut and Pennsylvania were practically at war over their boundaries. Connecticut, jealous of Massachusetts, laid higher taxes on goods from that State than on goods from England. New York taxed lumber from Connecticut and foodstuffs from New Jersey. New Jersey in turn taxed New York an enormous sum for the sandy strip of New Jersey shore on which New York had bought the right to build a lighthouse. Virginia and Maryland were having trouble over the navigation of the Potomac, and South Carolina and Georgia were almost at war over

the navigation of the Savannah. *Congress had no authority to regulate commerce and so was unable to settle these quarrels.* (What would happen to-day if any two States began such disputes with each other?)

Even within single States, there were serious troubles. The worst of these arose because of the quantities of paper



Courtesy Cosmopolitan Corp.

DANCING IN REVOLUTIONARY DAYS. This picture (from Marion Davies' play, *Janice Meredith*) represents the minuet that opened a military ball in Philadelphia while the British held that city in 1878.

money in circulation. For it was not only Congress that had printed paper money. Most of the thirteen States had issued it, too, and had gone on making it until it had become so worthless that no one would take it.

Then some State governments passed laws saying that people *must* accept it. That is, they made it *legal tender*. Under our Constitution to-day, no State is permitted to do this; but under the Confederation they did have the right, and it caused great confusion. A man who had lent 1000

dollars in gold some years before, now objected to taking back 1000 paper dollars, — which would buy perhaps only ten dollars worth of goods. And no one wished to sell goods for paper which might be worth nothing in a few days. Men shut up their shops, and there was very little trade. One editor in Worcester, Massachusetts, announced that he would accept pay for his paper in salt pork. Do you remember what had prevented too much paper money in the colonies?

Shays' Rebellion. — The farmers, especially, were suffering bitter hardships. Many of them had had to mortgage their farms during the war, and now were unable to get money for their produce. They were in danger of losing their farms, and even of being put into prison for debt. In 1786 there was a rebellion of the farmers in western Massachusetts, headed by Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War. The rebels wished to stop the lawsuits against debtors, and they broke up all the courts sitting in their district. The revolt was finally put down by militia from the eastern part of the State, and the leaders were arrested. But the next year the people elected a governor who sympathized with the rebels and released the leaders.

Several attempts were made to amend the Articles of Confederation so as to give Congress more power. But the Articles required unwisely that an amendment must be ratified by *every one* of the States, and there was always at least one State which refused to ratify.

People began to prophesy that the Union would break up altogether. Even Washington wrote: "I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving about on crutches and tottering at every step." He felt, with other wise and patriotic leaders, that the only hope for lasting union lay in forming a new and better constitution.

FURTHER READINGS

This is a hard period for young students to understand. Some of the simplest accounts are found in Farrand, *Fathers of the Constitution*; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*; and Johnson, *Union and Democracy*. Interesting letters and journals of the time are given in Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III; and West, *Source Book in American History*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Show how the American Revolution made America more democratic, and add to the "Steps toward Democracy" in your notebooks.
2. Do you find any further "Steps toward Union" in this chapter to add to the list in your notebooks?
3. Look up the meaning of the word *confederation*. Do you know of any other confederations in the history of the world?

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

CHAPTER XIII

MAKING OUR CONSTITUTION

It had become plain that several changes must be made if the union of States were to continue.

1. Congress needed more powers — especially the power *to tax*, and the power *to regulate commerce* between the States.

2. The States should *not* have power to injure each other's trade.

3. There should be some way *to enforce* the laws and treaties made by Congress.

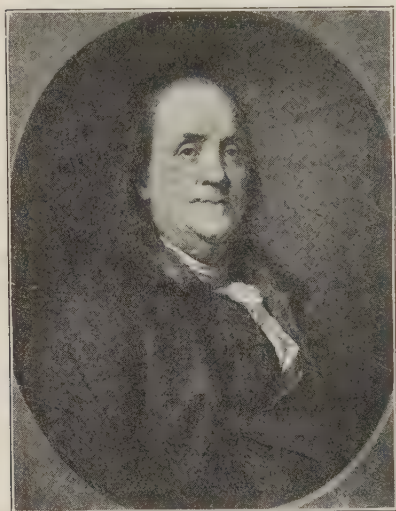
4. The United States must be more than a "league" of States: it must have *direct authority over every citizen*. John Smith or Henry Jones would hardly think of refusing obedience to a command from a central government; but New York or Virginia felt as strong as Congress itself.

5. There ought to be some way of making changes in the government *without waiting for the consent of every State*.

In 1787 the States sent delegates to Philadelphia in order to try *one more time* to amend the Articles. Most of the great leaders of America met there. To be sure, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were not present, because they were representing the United States in England and in France; and Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were not willing to aid in any plan for taking power from the States and giving it to the central government.

But Washington was there, and was chosen chairman of the Convention. The aged Benjamin Franklin went as a

delegate from Pennsylvania, and saw the dream of his life come true — a strong union formed by the thirteen States. Other heroes of the Revolution and signers of the Declaration of Independence were there. “Hardly a man in the



FRANKLIN. — A portrait painted in France shortly before the close of the American Revolution.

Convention,” says the historian McMaster, “but had sat in some famous assembly, had filled some high place, or had made himself conspicuous for learning, for scholarship, or for signal service rendered in the cause of liberty.”

One of the younger men, *James Madison*, of Virginia, has sometimes been called the “Father of the Constitution.” For years he had studied the needs of America, as well as the history of all confederations in the past; and he suggested many of the most important

ideas for the new government. More than anyone else he realized the importance of the work. He was convinced *then*, he tells us many years later, that upon the success of this meeting would depend “the happiness of a people, great even in its infancy, and perhaps the cause of liberty throughout the world.” So he kept a careful record of all that was said and done each day during the sittings. We owe most of our knowledge of the Convention to these notes.

The Convention worked from early in May past the middle of September. Several times the debates were stormy, and

it looked as if the meeting might break up. The men from the small States feared the power of the large States; the farmers feared the wealth of the merchants; slaveholders feared the influence of those who wished to do away with slavery; some members believed that every man in the country should have a share in the government, while others wished instead to put power, even more than before, in the hands of the wealthy class.

It was only by arranging compromises between the different groups **that the Convention was able to go on.** The most important compromises were the following:

1. Men from the large States wanted each State to be represented in Congress according to population: the small States wished all States to be represented equally — as under the Articles. This quarrel was particularly bitter. But finally a member from Connecticut suggested that in the Senate, or upper house, each State should have two members, while in the House of Representatives each State should be represented according to its population. This “Connecticut Compromise” was adopted.

2. In some of the Southern States a large part of the population consisted of slaves. The Northern States did not want these slaves to be counted in the population when representatives were to be apportioned; but the slaveholding States felt that they would then have too few representatives. Finally it was decided that when representatives were to be apportioned, the slave population was to be counted, *but only as three fifths* of its real number.

3. One of the chief reasons for calling the Convention was to give the central government power to regulate commerce with other countries and between States. But South Carolina and Georgia were afraid that the government might use such a power to stop the importation of slaves. Finally, Congress was given the power to regulate commerce; but at the same time it was provided

(1) that Congress must not stop the slave trade for at least twenty years, and (2) that during those twenty years no tax higher than ten dollars should be placed on each "person" so imported. (In 1808 — the first year possible under this agreement — the new government did prohibit the importation of slaves from foreign countries.)

4. Members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen in each State by all to whom that State gave the right to vote. But instead of allowing the voters to choose the President *directly*, it was arranged that "Electors" were to be chosen in each State, and these Electors were then to select the man they thought best fitted for the presidency. The Senators, too, were to be chosen *indirectly* by State legislatures, instead of directly by the voters. These provisions helped to satisfy the aristocratic leaders, who did not think the people fit to rule.

The plan of government, as it was finally presented to the States for their approval, provided for :

1. *A Congress* of two houses to *make* the laws : the lower house to be elected for a two-year term ; the upper house for six years, one third of their number to be renewed every second year.

2. *A President* (chosen every four years) to *enforce* the Constitution and the laws.

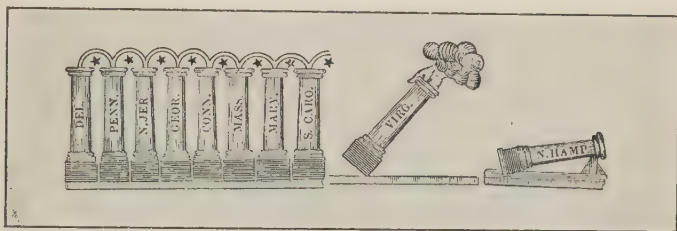
3. *A Supreme Court* to settle differences between the States and all disputes arising under the Constitution and the laws made by Congress.

Congress was given several new powers, the most important of which were : (1) to lay and collect taxes, (2) to regulate trade, (3) to raise and support armies, (4) to make all laws "necessary and proper" for carrying out the powers granted it. All laws passed by Congress under the authority of the Constitution were to be the

“supreme law of the land,” and *the States could make no laws contrary to them.*

The States, moreover, were forbidden to lay duties on commerce or to make paper money. But they still had full authority over *local* matters—education, roads, marriage laws, property, and so on. The important matter of *who might vote* was also left to the State governments to decide; but their power in this matter has since been limited by two amendments. (What are they?)

The new Constitution did not require *unanimous* approval for future amendments. Ratification by three fourths of the States was declared sufficient. Nineteen amendments have been passed since 1789.



"THE EIGHTH FEDERAL PILLAR REARED." The *Boston Independent Chronicle* published this cut June 12, 1788, soon after ratification by South Carolina. (It guessed wrong about the *ninth* pillar. New Hampshire ratified three days later, ten days before Virginia did.)

The Struggle to Ratify.—The Convention had provided (1) that the Constitution should be considered in each State in a State convention, and (2) that as soon as *nine* States had ratified it, it should go into effect. Some of the smaller States ratified almost at once, but it took nine months of debate to get the ninth State to ratify.

Many violent attacks upon the new plan were printed in the papers. Some people feared that this new government would be tyrannical and that the States were giving up too much power. The farmers and the working people felt that they had not been well represented in the Convention,

and that the large property owners had made the Constitution and would be the only gainers.

On the other hand, the Constitution had enthusiastic supporters. In particular, *Alexander Hamilton*, *James Madison*, and *John Jay* wrote a series of papers called *The Federalist*, in which they explained and defended the plan.

Washington's Election and Inauguration. — In November, 1788 (when enough States had ratified to make the new plan of government sure), elections were held for a Congress and for President and Vice President. No one had any question who should be President. Sixty-nine electors were chosen in the various States (most of them by State legislatures), and they gave their votes unanimously for Washington. John Adams was chosen Vice President.

When Washington was notified of his election, he set out on horseback from his home at Mount Vernon. His whole journey to New York was a triumphal progress. In his honor poems were written and music composed; salutes were fired; triumphal arches were erected; processions of young girls scattered flowers in his path. Everywhere he was welcomed as the savior of his country — not only for what he had done in war, but for what he was now about to do in peace.

The first Wednesday in March had been set by the old Congress for the new government to take up its work in New York City. But on that day only a small number of Senators and Representatives had arrived. For several weeks Congress did not have enough members present to do business; and Washington was not inaugurated until April 30. Everything was then ready for trying out the new experiment.

FURTHER READINGS

Good descriptions of the men who attended the Constitutional Convention, and of the debates between them, are to be found in

any of the books mentioned at the close of the last chapter. Fuller accounts of the government provided by the Constitution are: Haskins, *The American Government*; Hinsdale, *American Government*; Jenks and Smith, *We and Our Government*; Marriott, *How Americans are Governed*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Why is some means of amending a Constitution necessary?
2. Study the selections from the debates in the Convention given in Hart and in West, and let the class dramatize scenes from the Convention.
3. Draw up a constitution for a literary society, or an athletic club. What is the use of a constitution? What sort of provisions should it contain?

"Since the creation of the world, America now presents the first instance of a people assembling to weigh deliberately and calmly, and to decide leisurely and peacefully, upon the form of government by which they will bind themselves and their posterity."

These are the words in which the great Philadelphia Convention was described at the time by James Wilson, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, often called the most far-sighted man present at the meeting. All earlier governments had been the result of war and violence, or at least had grown up almost haphazard, without deliberate plan. Wilson's words help us to understand the happier fate of America.



POPULATION, COUNTRY AND CITY, IN 1790.

CHAPTER XIV

AMERICA IN 1790

Before we study the work of the new government, we will take a bird's eye view of American life as it was when Washington became President. *It would be well for you to prepare for this by rereading chapter x on American life twenty-five years earlier.*

Growth of Population. — Washington's government was required by the Constitution *to count the people* as soon as

ENGLISH, INCLUDING A FEW SCOTCH AND WELSH	NEGROES	SCOTCH IRISH	GERMANS	OTHERS
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POPULATION 1790 BY NATIONALITIES. The percentages are 72, 18, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 1. The last one per cent includes Dutch, French, Jews, and Spaniards.

possible, so as to know more accurately just how many Representatives each State should have in Congress. This first census, in 1790, showed that, in spite of the long period of war and disorder, the population had grown to almost four million. Nineteen twentieths of the people, however, were still found within fifty miles of the coast; and about

nineteen twentieths of all were still farmers. (Study the map facing p. 191, with these statements in mind.)

The few large towns were growing rapidly. Philadelphia had 42,000 people; and New York, Boston,

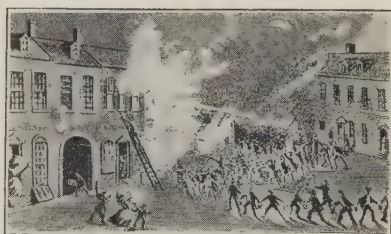
COUNTRY DWELLERS		CITY
in W e s t	East of Mountains	

POPULATION IN 1790 BY DISTRICTS.

Baltimore, and Charleston each had from 10,000 to 20,000. These were the only places with more than 6000. Philadelphia was especially praised by European visitors for its fine public buildings and its broad straight streets, paved with cobblestones and bordered by *brick* sidewalks—an improvement that was then seen in few European cities. New York and Boston also had paved their principal streets, and, like Philadelphia, had begun to light them at night with dimly flaring whale-oil lamps. South of the Potomac there was no large town except Charleston.

People had nowhere learned the deadly results of throwing all refuse into the streets—a custom that would be disgusting to us to-day.

The three largest cities had begun to bring in good drinking water from outside, in *wooden* pipes; but even these towns had almost no sewer systems, and it is not strange that they were ravaged from time to time by terrible epidemics of smallpox and yellow fever.



A FIREMAN'S CERTIFICATE, showing how fires were fought in 1800. From Alice Morse Earle's *Home Life in Colonial Days* (Macmillan).

Fires, too, were exceedingly destructive. There were no paid companies of firemen, always ready with ladders, hose,

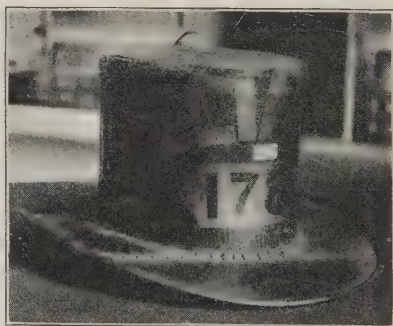


OLD FIRE BUCKET, in the Collections of the Bostonian Society.

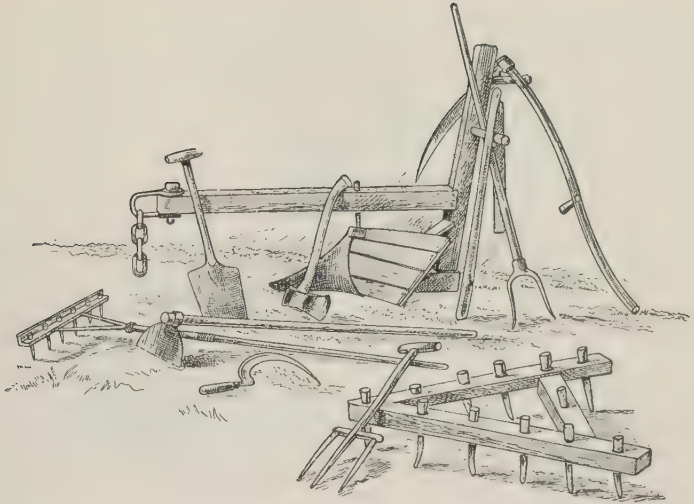
and engines. In Philadelphia, Franklin had organized a volunteer "bucket brigade" with regular officers; but elsewhere fires had to be fought by *unorganized* groups of citizens. Each householder was expected to keep buckets hanging by his door. When a fire broke out, two long lines of neighbors formed from the fire to the town pump or to the river, and full buckets were passed along one line to the fire, and then back empty, along the other, to be filled again. Sometimes the water was poured into a tank, instead of being thrown by hand on the fire, and then forced through a hose by *handpumps*. If the wind was high a fire was almost sure to spread, until sometimes whole sections of a town were swept away.

Methods of travel had improved very little. The average rate of stagecoach travel over the rough dirt roads of that day was about four miles an hour, and such travel cost about ten cents a mile. Coaches still ran only between a few large towns, and nowhere south of Philadelphia.

Communication between East and West was most difficult of all. To go from Philadelphia to Nashville (by boat and on horseback) took at least three weeks. Beyond the mountains, the



FIREMAN'S HAT OF 1800. — Collections of the Bostonian Society.



THE ONLY FARM TOOLS IN 1800 BESIDES THE WAGON. See cuts on pp. 20, 21.



EASIEST AND SAFEST TRAVEL IN 1800.

This looks like one of the times when passengers would have to get out in the mud and push.



SPREAD EAGLE INN near the 14th milestone of the Lancaster Pike (p. 292). —
From Weld's *Travels through North America* (1800).



PENNSYLVANIA QUAKERS GOING TO "MEETING." — A drawing in Sutcliffe's *Travels*,
published in England in 1811. Note the different kinds of vehicles.

easiest roads were the branches of the Ohio flowing westward. In a broad flat-bottomed ark, the settler could carry his family and goods from Pittsburgh down the streams; and, once arrived at his destination *somewhere on the banks*, he could use the lumber of his flatboat to build his house. (See picture on p. 299.)

When he had produce to market, it could be floated in the same way down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. There the lumber of the raft could be sold with the wheat or tobacco it had carried. It was useless to think of poling it upstream again. The owner would have to return on foot or horseback over the long and dangerous trails through the Indian country.

Since 1775, **the number of post offices** in the country had increased from twenty-five to seventy-five. But we must not think that the mail carriers of that day were in any way like the blue-coated postmen we know in our cities, or like our rural mail carriers, running their little Ford cars over well-kept country roads. Postmen on horseback carried the mail in their saddlebags from town to town.

When the weather permitted, the postman knitted mittens or stockings as he ambled along on his old horse; or else he passed the time by reading the mail. People complained that they had to put all important business into cipher.

The cost of sending a letter, too, was much greater than to-day. Eight cents was the lowest letter postage; and



POST RIDER on a piece of corduroy road, such as was often used to cross wet or marshy places. From Woodrow Wilson's *American People*, published by Harpers.

it cost twenty cents to have a letter carried from New York to Boston — in from six to nine days. Many people could not be reached at all by the regular letter carriers; so mail

NEWS! NEWS!



AARON OLIVER, *Post-Rider*,

WISHES to inform the Publick, that he has extended his Route; and that he now rides thro' the Towns of *Troy, Pittstown, Hoosick, Mapletown, Part of Bennington, and Shafesbury, Petersburg, Stephenstown, Greenbush and Schodack.*

All Commands in his Line will be received with Thanks, and executed with Punctuality.

He returns his sincere Thanks to his former Customers; and intends, by unabated Diligence, to merit a Continuance of their Favours.

*O'er rugged hills, and wallies wide,
He never yet has fail'd to trudge it;
As steady as the flowing tide,*

He hands about the NORTHERN BUDGET.

June 18, 1799.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A *PRIVATE* POST RIDER. — From Alice Morse Earle's *Stage Coach and Tavern Days* (Macmillan).

country for reports of insurrections, battles, conventions, legislatures. There was many a gathering in the village tavern to hear the news brought from the outside world in some letter to a fellow townsman.

often had to be trusted to acquaintances, or left at some tavern, in the hope that in time it might be called for.

The post offices developed so slowly that by 1800 there appeared also a good many *private* "post riders." These served parts of the country not supplied with post offices, and carried parcels that the mail would not then receive; and sometimes they illegally carried letters for lower rates than the official riders were required to charge.

When we read the letters of Washington, Madison, Jefferson, and other men of that day, we realize that their letters to their friends really *carried the news* that we expect our friends to get from their newspapers. The newspapers of that time had nothing resembling our telegraphic news service. One depended on friends in other parts of the

Life in a small town of those days is described by S. G. Goodrich, writing of his own boyhood. (Mr. Goodrich was the author of one of the first school histories of the United States.)

“Every family lived as much as possible within itself. Money was scarce, wages being about fifty cents a day, though these were generally paid in meat, vegetables, and other articles of use — seldom in money. There was not a factory of any kind in the place. . . . There was a hatter . . . but he generally made hats to order, and usually in exchange for the skins of foxes, rabbits, muskrats, and other chance peltry. (I frequently purchased my powder and shot from the proceeds of skins which I sold him.) There was a butcher, but he only went from house to house to slaughter the cattle and swine of his neighbors. There was a tanner, but he only dressed other people’s skins: there was a clothier, but he generally fulled and dressed other people’s cloth. . . . Even dying blue a portion of the wool, so as to make linsey-woolsey for shortgowns, aprons, and blue-mixed stockings — vital necessities in those days — was a domestic operation. During the autumn, a dye-tub in the chimney corner . . . was as familiar in all thrifty houses, as the Bible or the backlog.

“Every autumn, it was a matter of course that we had a fat ox or a fat cow, ready for slaughter. One full barrel was salted down; the hams were cut out, and hung up in the chimney for a few days, and thus became ‘dried’ or ‘hung beef’ — then as essential as the staff of life. Pork was managed in a similar way, though even on a larger scale, for two barrels were indispensable. A few pieces, as the spare-ribs, etc., were distributed to the neighbors, who paid in kind when *they* killed their swine.

“Our bread was of rye, tinged with Indian meal. . . . All the vegetables came from the garden and farm. The fuel was supplied by our own woods — sweet-scented hickory, snapping chestnut, odoriferous oak, and reeking, fizzling ash — the hot juice of the latter, by the way, being a sovereign antidote for the earache.”

Plantation owners in the South and rich merchants in the North lived more sumptuously. They covered their

hair with powdered wigs, and, as in colonial days, wore white satin embroidered vests, black satin knee-breeches, long white silk stockings, and fine broadcloth or velvet coats of the gayest colors. Ladies were dressed in rich brocades, and wore their hair powdered and done up in immense pyramids. Before a great ball (p. 196), hair-dressers were in such demand that ladies had to have their hair done at four or five in the morning, and sit carefully erect all day so as not to disturb it. President Washington was driven from his house to the hall of Congress in a cream-colored coach drawn by six white horses, their "hoofs blackened and polished." On the flower-bordered panels of the coach, cupids were painted; and the driver and postilions were dressed in white-and-scarlet liveries.

There was a little more manufacturing than before the war. Iron mills started up again, especially in Pennsylvania; and clothmaking became a leading industry in that State and in New England.

This work was still done by hand tools, not by machinery. But manufacturing was beginning to move from the family home into small shops. Sometimes one man would keep five or six spinners or weavers busy working for him on the wool and flax he bought from the farmers in the country round. So, too, one man, instead of going around from house to house to make the family leather up into shoes, would set up a shop and employ perhaps five or six workmen to make shoes from the leather that was brought to him.

Wages, and the Life of the Workingman. — Carpenters and masons and the men who worked in these new manufacturing shops were better off than the *unskilled* laborers, but they earned very little — perhaps from fifty to seventy cents a day. Mr. McMaster describes the life of such an artisan in the following words:



© J. L. G. Ferris

A RECEPTION AT MOUNT VERNON.

Celebrating the Silver Wedding of George and Martha Washington — The British flags are those captured at Trenton.

"Sand sprinkled on the floor did duty as a carpet. There was no glass on his table, there was no china in his cupboard, there were no prints on his wall. . . . He rarely tasted fresh meat as often as once in a week. Everything, indeed, which ranked as a staple of life was very costly. Many other commodities now to be seen on the tables of the poor were either quite unknown, or far beyond the reach of his scanty means.

"If the food of an artisan would now be thought coarse, his clothes would be thought abominable. A pair of yellow buck-skin or leather breeches, a checked shirt, a red flannel jacket, a rusty felt hat cocked up at the corners, shoes of neat's-skin set off with huge buckles of brass, and a leathern apron, composed his scanty wardrobe. The leather he smeared with grease to keep it soft and flexible."

Farm tools had changed very little (cut facing p. 208). Farmers in 1790 prepared the ground with a clumsy wooden plow, scattered the seed by hand, reaped the grain with a hand sickle, and threshed it with a wooden flail, as had been done in the valley of the Nile 5000 years before. It took an immense amount of labor to raise a scanty crop. A few wise farmers, like Washington and Jefferson, were just beginning to bring about better methods. Jefferson even invented an improved form of plowshare, of which he had good reason to be proud.

Commerce had started up again, after the war, but it was not yet as prosperous as in colonial times. For many years, most of our trade continued to be with England, just as before the Revolution,—a fact which shows that the Navigation Acts had really been unnecessary for England. (Can you see why?)

The ports of the British West Indies were still closed to us (p. 195). But a new trade was starting with the far East. In 1784, the New York ship *Empress of China* made a trip to Canton by way of the Cape of Good Hope, a journey of nearly 14,000 miles. The voyage was so profitable that

another ship started out the next year, and in 1789 fifteen ships sailed from New England ports for the Orient. The *Columbia* went by way of Cape Horn, and for the first time



AMERICAN CLIPPER SHIP UNDER SAIL.

carried the American flag around the world. During the next fifty years the swift, tall, well-built sailing vessels of the United States were to be found on every sea, and huge fortunes were made in the "India trade."

The voyage of the *Columbia* had another importance. Her commander, Captain Gray of Boston, followed the path of Drake up the western coast of America — until, far to the north, he discovered the mouth of a great river, which he named from his ship. This discovery laid a foundation for our later claim to Oregon.

Schools had made very little advance, and there were still almost no American books. A few wealthy men had large libraries imported from England, but most families had no books except the Bible, with perhaps a few religious or political pamphlets. In one section, however, a new promise for the education of *all* the people was just beginning to show. *That section was the new Northwest.*

Congress had given the name *The Northwest Territory* to the vast region *north* of the Ohio River. There was one important difference between this district and the older Southwest. Tennessee and Kentucky were still counties of North Carolina and Virginia; but **the Northwest Territory had become national domain.** It belonged to the whole United States, and was governed according to laws passed by Congress. We must see how this had happened.

This domain reached from the Ohio to the Great Lakes and from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi. At first several

States had claimed all or parts of it. These claims (map facing p. 219) were based on grants of land to the colonies in the old English charters, — which you remember were not always drawn up very carefully. Virginia claimed *all* the district, and after the expedition of George Rogers Clark, she felt that her claim was stronger than ever.

But some of the States had very little Western land; and some had none at all. These last were the “small” States. They were jealous of the wealth and power of the large ones, and this jealousy proved a good thing for the whole country.

It was in 1777 that the Continental Congress had asked the States to accept the Articles of Confederation (p. 193). Most of them ratified the Articles at once. But Maryland, realizing how much larger and more powerful her neighbor Virginia was than she herself could ever be, refused to join except on one condition. That was, that all States which claimed territory west of the Alleghenies should give up their lands there *to be held by the Union as a National domain*; and, that, when there were enough people living there, *new States should be made out of that territory*.

For four years little Maryland stood her ground against all the rest. Finally in 1781 the States with claims to land north of the Ohio agreed to give them up to the Union. Maryland then accepted the Articles.

Here was a great domain to be colonized by our people, just as the English had colonized the Atlantic coasts. What was to be our colonial policy? What rights were to be given our colonists across the mountains? And how were they to be governed? The one great piece of work accomplished by Congress under the Articles of Confederation was the settlement of these questions.

In 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, a law that ranks in the history of the United States with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. This

law provided that the ceded lands should later be made into States, as Maryland had demanded.

(1) Congress was to send out a governor and judges to look after the district. But (2) as soon as there were five thousand free male inhabitants in any one section of it, they were to elect a lawmaking body of their own, though Congress would still appoint the governor. The American name for such a colony was *Territory*. Its government at this second stage was about the same as that of an English colony before the Revolution, and was as free as any colonial government in history up to that time.

Other countries had felt that their colonies must always remain at least a little inferior to the mother country. *But the Northwest Ordinance took another step forward*, and the most important one of all. It provided (3) that when a Territory had as many as sixty thousand free inhabitants (about the number in the smallest State in the Union) they could form a new *State*, to be admitted to the Union "on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever." Five States were finally formed in this way out of the "Old Northwest," besides a part of a sixth. (What ones?)

The ordinance also established freedom of religion, jury trial, and other "liberties." These were to be "the basis of all governments which forever after shall be formed in the said territory." Slavery was forbidden there. One important article reads: "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge being necessary to good Government and the happiness of mankind, *Schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.*"

Congress had already passed another great law about the National domain which made even more direct provision than this for the support of public schools.

In 1785, Congress had ordered a survey of the Northwest — after a new plan. *The first purpose of this Survey Ordi-*

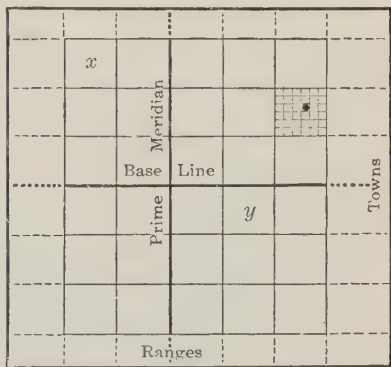
nance was to make it easier for pioneers to locate their lands accurately and cheaply, and to avoid disputes later. In the older parts of the country, the methods of describing lands had been very inaccurate. The records of Jefferson County, Kentucky, describe the land of Abraham Lincoln's grandfather as located on a fork of the Long Run, beginning *about* two miles up from the mouth of the fork, "at a Sugar Tree standing in the side of the same marked S D B and extending thence East 300 Poles to a Poplar and Sugar Tree North $213\frac{1}{3}$ poles to a Beech and Dogwood West 300 poles to a White Oak and Hickory South $213\frac{1}{3}$ poles to the Beginning." It is easy to see that quarrels might easily arise over pieces of property described in this way. Boone finally lost all his lands in Kentucky because of a defect in his title.

The new system, invented by Thomas Jefferson, prevented such troubles. It divided the whole Northwest domain into

In this Survey diagram, each square represents a township, six miles each way. The rows north and south are "Towns," and are numbered from the base line. The rows east and west are "Ranges," and are numbered from the *prime meridian*. We will suppose you wish to find a certain

forty acre piece called the SE quarter of the NW quarter of Section 15 of Town 2 North in Range 3 East. You start from the point where the prime meridian crosses the base line. Go north to the second row (how many miles?), then east to the third row. That brings you to the township you want. It is shown here divided into its thirty-six "sections," each of which, of course, contains 640 acres.

Section 15 we have marked by an *o*. (The sections are always numbered in the same order.) Draw that section on a larger scale, and divide it into quarters by two lines. Then divide the northwest quarter again in the same way. Mark the forty acres you were to find. Name the townships marked *x* and *y*.



townships six miles square. Each township was then divided into 36 sections, each one mile square; and these sections

were subdivided and numbered in such a way that any piece of land in any section could be easily located.

This Survey Ordinance had also provided that one section of each township should be set aside for the support of public schools. Still another ordinance set aside a large tract in the Northwest Territory for the support of "an institution of higher learning" — and so started our system of land grants for State Universities. This plan of public land grants for public education has been followed by the United States in all its new unsettled territory since.

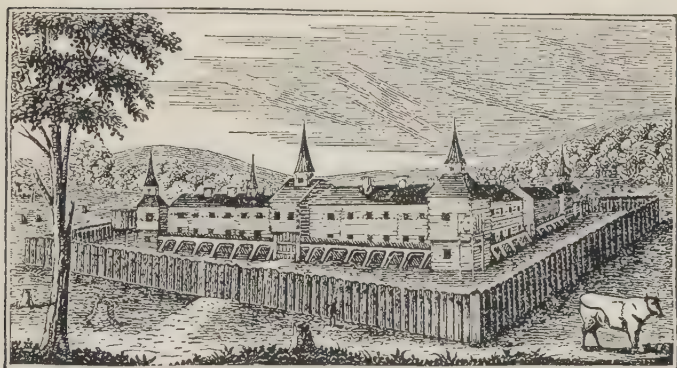
Much of this legislation for Western lands was due to Thomas Jefferson, who was always much interested in the West as well as in public education. The Ordinance of 1787 was not passed until after he had gone to represent the United States in France; but its chief provisions were based on a plan that he had introduced into Congress some years before.

Settlement of the Northwest began soon after these laws were passed. The government brought a little money into the nation's treasury by selling Western lands to large companies; and Congress made arrangements, too, to use part of them to pay the soldiers of the Revolution. (The lands were not *given* to the soldiers; but the soldiers were allowed to buy them with government certificates, — which were worth so little that it amounted to getting land at about twelve cents an acre.)

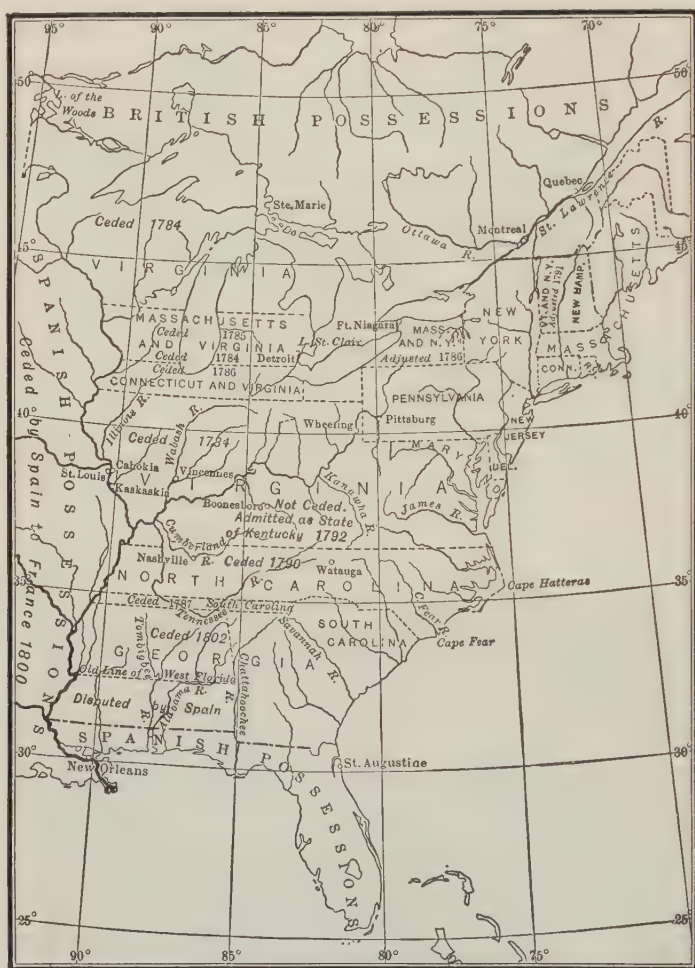
One company of New Englanders bought about a million acres for their colony; and, *in the spring of 1788* (while the seaboard states were still wrangling about the adoption of the new Constitution), their first expedition floated down the Ohio from Pittsburgh in a boat which they named the *Mayflower* in memory of the vessel which a hundred and fifty years before had brought their fathers to New England. This little band established themselves at *Marietta* at the mouth of the Muskingum, and formed the first English-



AN OHIO GRIST MILL built soon after 1790. Note the standing stumps and the log house in the background.



CAMPUS MARTIUS (the name given the stockade built for refuge) AT MARIETTA in 1791. The stockade was ten feet high (note the loopholes toward its top) and the building within covered about a third of an ordinary city block.



THE UNITED STATES, 1783-1802, with State claims and cessions. The dotted lines in northern Maine bound the territory in dispute between America and England (p. 234).

speaking settlement in the Northwest. Thereafter, the Northwest grew rapidly.

The Frontier Made Americans Democratic,
Independent, and Inventive

In many ways the West repeated the early life of the Atlantic coast a hundred years before; but it was more democratic. There was no "leisure class," with satins and velvets and powdered wigs. Every man lived by what he could do with his own hands, while he matched his wits with those of the Indian. There was land for everyone; and *ideas* of equality, that were *talked about* on the eastern side of the mountains, here became *fact*. When Kentucky and Tennessee drew up constitutions and asked to be admitted as States, they did not limit the right of voting to property owners, but gave it to all.

Only one small district east of the mountains had so far gained manhood suffrage. This was the rugged Green Mountain region lying between New Hampshire and New York, and claimed by both. Just before the Revolution it was settled by New England frontiersmen, largely from Connecticut. These borderers resented fiercely the attempts of New York to rule them, and in the early days of the Revolution declared themselves an independent State with the name *Vermont*. For a long time New York would not consent to have Vermont admitted to the Union; but everyone knew that it would finally have to be done (p. 284). Meantime the Green Mountain Boys continued to rule themselves by a State constitution which allowed all men to vote. (Why was Vermont so much like the West?)

Besides being democratic in his ideas, **the frontiersman was independent.** He was used to taking care of himself. His idea of a good government was of one that did not interfere

too much in his affairs. Moreover, since he had little ready money, he wanted a government that should not cost him much in taxes.

The frontiersman had to be *ingenious*. He had to get along without the conveniences he had enjoyed in his old home: he must make something else do instead. He had to learn to use the new things he found, and to change his ways to fit new conditions. This is part of the reason, at least, why Americans are especially *inventive*.

The Westerner had faith in the future. In their long contest with nature, men became keen-witted and strong. Sometimes they also became rough and hard. The difficulties of their lives left them little time for books and schooling. They faced great dangers, and enjoyed few pleasures. Most of their good times were a mixture of work and play, — husking bees and quilting parties and house-raising.

But the pioneer felt he could afford to put up with privations in the present, because he had before him the vision of a glorious future. In his mind's eye he could see each little village become a great city, and the wilderness bring forth fruit. Europeans laughed at us in those days for our faith in the future; but the next hundred years were to see the vision come true.

FURTHER READINGS

The way in which the American people lived and worked and played when they first became an independent nation is best described for young readers in Earle, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*; Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; McMurry, *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*; Ogg, *The Old Northwest*, and *Pioneer Days and Ways*; Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Locate the six largest cities in the United States in colonial times and the six largest to-day. Compare the two sets in size,

appearance, and provision for public health and safety. What provision of this kind does *your* city make?

2. Imagine yourself taking a journey in 1790, and write a letter to a friend describing your adventures.

3. What advantages did American colonists in the National Domain have over the earlier colonists in America?

4. How did the government of a Territory resemble the government of an English colony? Has the United States any Territories to-day which are governed in a like way?

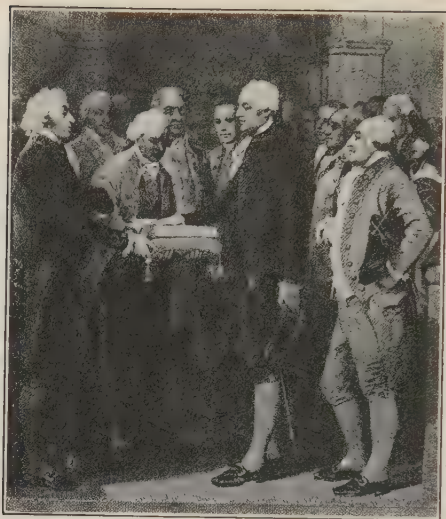
5. Do you think it is right for the government to use part of the nation's lands for the support of public schools? Why?

6. There are important steps toward both *union* and *democracy* in this chapter to be added to the list in your notebooks.

7. The ownership of the National Domain by the United States was a powerful bond of union between the States. Think of at least two reasons for this.



A SLAVE MARKET OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. — From Harpers' *Encyclopedia of United States History*. The sale is going on in the crowded open pavilion at the water's edge.



WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AS PRESIDENT, April 30, 1789. The figure at the left, administering the oath, is Robert R. Livingston.

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW GOVERNMENT AT WORK

Washington and the First Congresses Had Many Important Questions to Decide with Regard both to Matters at Home and to Our Relations with Other Countries

I. HOME AFFAIRS

Europeans addressed their monarchs with great ceremony ; and some Americans wished to keep these aristocratic forms for our rulers, even though they were *elected* rulers. The Senate tried to give Washington the pompous title "His Highness, President of the United States of America and Protector of the Liberties of the Same." **But the House of Representatives insisted on laying aside this Old-World ceremony.** Finally, it was decided to call Washington simply "President of the United States," and to address him as "Mr. President" (not as "Your Highness"). This

was one of several ways in which the government in its first years set examples for future Presidents and Congresses.

The National Courts. — The Constitution had provided that there must be a Supreme Court to sit at the capital, but it said also that Congress *might* organize other United States courts. One of the first things Congress did was to set up thirteen *District Courts*, distributed over the entire country. This made it easier to enforce the laws of the new government.

While the Constitution was being ratified, many amendments had been suggested by the States. Ten of these were finally adopted, and are called our **Bill of Rights**. They forbid Congress to interfere with freedom of religion or freedom of the press; they guarantee jury trial, free speech, and the right to petition the government against abuses; and in general they safeguard the liberties of citizens against interference by the central government. (Do you know what Bill of Rights your State constitution has?)

The Constitution had provided that a new city should be built for **the capital of the new nation**. But *where should Congress place that city?* Everyone agreed that it must be near the center of the country, because travel was so difficult. The Southerners, however, were determined that it should not be further north than the Potomac; while the Northerners did not want it further south than Philadelphia.

The South had its way on this matter. It was decided that a tract ten miles square on the Potomac, near Washington's home at Mt. Vernon, should be set apart for the national capital. It seems strange to anyone looking at the map of the United States to-day that such a place could ever have been considered the *center* of the country; but that is only one of the signs of our country's growth. The new city was named *Washington*; but it was not ready to be

used as the home of the government while George Washington was President. During his eight years the government sat at New York or at Philadelphia.

Does it make much difference to-day whether the capital is near the center of the country or not? Why? How long does it take now to get news or to travel from Washington to the Pacific coast?

Forming the First Cabinet. — Congress decided there should be three departments to help the President carry on the business of the country — the departments of *State, Treasury, and War*. There also was to be an *Attorney General*.



FEDERAL HALL, New York, where Congress sat during Washington's administration.

Washington started the custom of *calling together* the heads of these departments and the Attorney General to talk over important business. This group came to be called the

President's *Cabinet*. As public business has increased, the Cabinet has become an important part of the government. It *advises* the President, but cannot *control* him.

How many Cabinet members are there to-day? Why are there so many more departments now? Once President Lincoln, who had *seven* in his Cabinet, found them all against a measure which he favored. In taking the vote, he said, "Seven *nays* and one *aye*; the *ayes* have it." Who was the one *aye*?

Washington chose *Jefferson* Secretary of State, — to take charge of the relations between the United States and foreign nations. And he appointed *Alexander Hamilton* Secretary

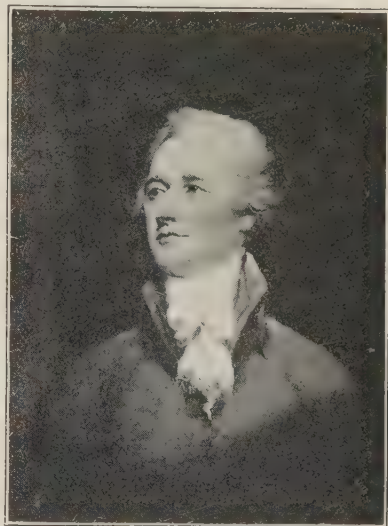
of the Treasury. Hamilton was a young lawyer from New York. He had been one of Washington's aides during the Revolution, and had done more than anyone else to get the Constitution adopted in New York. He had a brilliant mind, and proved to be just the man needed for the difficult task of putting the money matters of the new nation into shape.

Hamilton's Plan for the Revenue. — The new government needed money: (1) to pay its own expenses; (2) to pay interest on the country's old debts (p. 195); and (3) to pay the debts themselves as soon as possible. There was no money in the treasury; and not even the interest had been paid on debts for several years. The new Secretary of the Treasury prepared careful reports, showing *how much money was needed and explaining his plans for raising it.*

1. The first step was to decide just how much of the old debt the government should pay. Hamilton proposed to pay *three* kinds of debts.

a. The old government had borrowed much money from foreign countries. Everyone agreed that this *foreign debt* must be paid.

b. Still larger sums were due our own citizens. This *domestic debt* had been running a long time, much of it since the beginning of the Revolution. People who held the government *certificates* (somewhat like our Liberty Bonds), had almost given up the idea that they would ever get even



ALEXANDER HAMILTON. — Portrait by Trumbull.

the interest on their money, to say nothing of the money itself. Often they had needed money too badly to wait for payment anyway, and had sold their certificates to speculators for only a small part of what they had paid for them. At one time a hundred-dollar certificate could not be sold for more than twelve dollars (p. 218).

Many members of Congress thought it unnecessary now to pay this domestic debt in full. But Hamilton insisted that the only way to put money matters on a solid foundation, and to win the respect of everyone both at home and abroad, was to pay every cent in full on this debt also. And finally he carried his point.

But even Hamilton did not advise redeeming the paper money of the Confederation at anything like its face value. Congress did finally arrange to pay one cent on each dollar of it; but very few people bothered to bring any of it in.

c. Hamilton's next suggestion was a very astonishing one to many people. *He thought Congress ought also to take over the unpaid debts of the separate States*, most of which had been made during the War for Independence. Some States had already paid off their debts, and they objected now to helping the others pay theirs. But, by a narrow vote, Hamilton had his way. The influential business men, who held most of the old State bonds, thereafter became warm supporters of the central government: the stronger it was, the surer they were to get their money back. To win their support was perhaps the real purpose of this part of Hamilton's plan. He himself called the plan "*cement for the union.*"

2. *How was the government to get the necessary money?* Of course it could not pay all at once the 74 million dollars which these debts mounted up to. So Hamilton persuaded Congress to issue *new bonds*, to be paid after fifteen or twenty years. Now that the strong new government had

solemnly pledged its faith to redeem its bonds, men both abroad and at home were quite willing to buy them, or to take them in exchange for the old Continental bonds.

But the new debt must itself be paid some time, and the interest must be paid every year. Moreover, money must be secured to pay the running expenses of the government. To get money *at once* for this interest and for the current expenses, Hamilton induced Congress to pass two important tax bills. First, there was to be a *tariff*, or a tax on goods brought in from abroad. (This tax was very low compared with the duties we collect to-day, — only eight or ten per cent on the value of the goods.) Second, there was to be an *excise*, or a tax on certain things made in this country.

Tariffs and excises are *indirect taxes*. That is to say, the merchant or manufacturer who pays the tax to the government gets it back by charging higher prices for his goods. *Indirectly* the man who buys the tobacco, or playing cards, or the imported tea or sugar or woolen cloth, *finally* pays the tax.

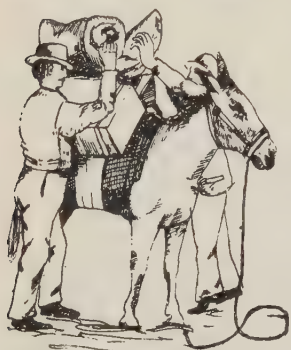
The Whisky Rebellion. — The excise tax was low, too, compared to excise duties in these days, but it was very unpopular, because it was laid on whisky. This needs a word of explanation.

The Western farmers of those days found it hard to market their goods because the roads were so poor. Meat could be sold “on the hoof”; and long trains of hogs and cattle were driven across the narrow trails every year to be sold in the Eastern settlements. But it was almost impossible to send *grain* to market: it was too bulky to be packed out on horseback, like furs or wool.

Four bushels of grain made a load for a pack animal; but one could carry twenty-four bushels of it distilled into *whisky*, which in those days was used by almost everyone. So the Westerner marketed his grain in that form. Nearly

every farm had its still. The whisky was packed across the mountains to be sold at a good price, or to be exchanged for the powder and the iron implements which the farmer could not make himself.

But when the tax collector came to the back country districts and tried to collect money for each gallon of whisky, the frontiersmen were angry. They had little money anyway, and the tax seemed to them very unjust. The farmers of four western counties of Pennsylvania refused to pay it, and drove away the federal officers.



LOADING A PACK MULE.

This rising is known as the Whisky Rebellion. The government had no army yet; but the President called out the militia of the neighboring States, and the rebellion subsided.

Thus the new government showed itself really able to enforce its laws. Hamilton felt that this was of far more value than the money collected.

Another of the measures recommended by Hamilton was a *national bank*. This bank was to help in collecting and paying out the nation's money, and also to issue bank notes which would serve as a safe paper money, much as our Federal Reserve notes do to-day. The merchants were especially anxious to have the bank organized. It would make it easier for them to do business in all parts of the country if there were bank notes of uniform value in every State, instead of all the different kinds of State bank notes.

But the question of the bank proved a hard one to decide. The Constitution had given Congress power to raise money in order to pay the debts of the United States; but it did not say that Congress had power to establish a bank. Washington himself was not at first sure the government had

this power, though he felt the bank would be a good thing. Jefferson was very much opposed to establishing it. He felt that it was not constitutional to do so. But Hamilton argued that it was one of the measures which were "necessary and proper" (p. 202) for carrying out the other financial measures, and he finally persuaded Congress and the President to pass the bill.

Hamilton intended not only to build up the finances of the country but also to gain more power for the new government. **His whole plan would have been a failure if Congress had refused to accept any one of the parts.** Fortunately, they were all passed, and the good results were felt at once. Not only did the government from this time pay its expenses easily, but private business also revived as if by magic. People were no longer afraid to use their money, and stopped hiding it in old stockings and teapots. A new period of prosperity began.

The consent of both houses of Congress and of the President is necessary to pass a bill. A member of either house may start a measure, except tax bills, which must be introduced in the House of Representatives. (Hamilton himself could not "introduce" the measures he recommended: some Representative or Senator had to do that.) After a measure is discussed and passed by both houses (and sometimes changed, or "*amended*"), it is sent to the President. If he likes the bill, he signs it, and it becomes a law. If he does not, he cannot change it, but he *may* send it back to Congress explaining why he did not sign it. This is called a *veto* — a Latin word meaning *I forbid*. But if two thirds of each house still want the bill, they may pass it over the President's veto, and it becomes a law anyway.

Political Parties Appear. — In connection with the quarrels over the assumption of State debts, the National Bank, the location of the capital, and other questions, two political

parties grew up in the country. One group, with Hamilton at its head, called itself the *Federalist* party. These men believed the government should be very strong. They wished Congress to exercise all the power possible under the "necessary and proper" clause. That is, they believed in the "loose," or "broad," construction of the Constitution.

These same men were inclined to be *aristocratic* in their ideas. They believed that government was safer in the hands of men of wealth, who were able to get education and training as leaders. They did not wish to give power to workingmen, who would be too ignorant, they feared, to use it wisely. They honestly believed that *protection of property* was the chief duty of a government, and that *property owners* were best fitted to make laws for that purpose. Most of the business men belonged to this party.

The other group was called the *Republican* party, or sometimes the Democratic-Republican. Jefferson was its leader. The members of this party were very much afraid that the central government would become *too* strong and perhaps grow into a monarchy. They believed that most of the work of government should be left to the States, and wished Congress to do nothing more than was *expressly stated* in the Constitution: that is, they believed in *strict* construction.

They thought, too, that *all men* should be allowed a share in the government, and that provision should be made to educate *all* the people for self-government. The *rights of men* seemed far more important to these Republicans than the *rights of property*. To this party belonged the workingmen in the towns and the small farmers in the West. There were also some large landowners in the South, like Jefferson himself, who feared the power of the New England merchants and who believed that the whole people could be trusted to run the government more justly than any small class could do it.

We must not get the idea that the Republican party of Jefferson's time and the Republican party of to-day are the same. The present Republican party was founded in the time of Lincoln, to keep slavery from spreading. Indeed our Democratic party calls itself "the party of Jefferson."

As conditions change, and new questions come up, men divide into parties in new ways. In Washington's and Jefferson's day they divided on the questions of the bank and of popular government; in Lincoln's day, on the questions of slavery and the union; to-day (1926) our parties are taking sides on the control of big business and our relations to the League of Nations.

All Americans of to-day have adopted some of the ideas of both the parties of Washington's time. The Federalist idea of *loose construction* of the Constitution is now accepted by all. If it were not, the Constitution (made to suit the thirteen little seaboard States) could not have been stretched to fit the needs of a country that covers half a continent. From the Democratic-Republicans, on the other hand, we have accepted their *faith in the common people*, and their belief that every man has a right to a share in the government under which he lives.

II. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The year 1789 saw the beginning of new governments in Europe as well as in America. The French people forced their king to call a parliament and began the **French Revolution**. Their motto was "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*" — freedom from oppression, equal rights for all, and the brotherhood of all men. Nobles lost their privileges, and their big estates with them; and the land was divided among the poor peasants.

The people of France had been oppressed for centuries. Now that they had seized the right to act for themselves, they went to extremes. In many places there was much violence: property was destroyed, and the king and queen and many of the nobles were put to death. This violence hurt the cause of liberty. Many people in other countries,

who might have sympathized with the oppressed peasant and workingman, began to think that democracy was dangerous.

Americans soon took sides for and against the Revolution. Jefferson and the Republicans sympathized with it. Jeffer-



A PRISON SCENE IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. — A painting by Charles Louis Miller. Nobles and gentlemen, *suspected* of plotting against the Revolution were crowded into prison; and each day, almost without warning, the roll call of those condemned to die that day was read at the prison gate.

son had lived in France, and understood how unjust and cruel the old system had been; and of course the man who wrote our Declaration of Independence would like the motto of the French Revolution.

On the other hand, the Federalists felt great horror of the bloody violence of the Revolutionists. It seemed to them to prove their Federalist theory that the people must not

be allowed too much liberty. In a famous speech at a public banquet, Hamilton exclaimed: "The people, Sir, is a great beast!" Such men forgot that the "great beast" was so fierce only because it had been goaded so cruelly for hundreds of years.

Soon European wars threatened to entangle the United States. The French people were not satisfied with simply winning their own freedom. They wanted to free all oppressed peoples—and indeed, before the Revolution was ended, many years later, it did bring some share of self-government to most European nations. By 1792, the despotic rulers of Europe were already alarmed, and they united in a great war against these "dangerous" French ideas. The new French government then asked America to help them against their enemies.

This put the United States in a difficult position. The old French government had helped the Americans in their war against England. France now reminded us of the treaty of alliance of 1778, and sent *Citizen Genêt* as minister to the United States. (Since the French had abolished all titles, they had adopted the words "Citizen" and "Citizeness" as words of address for everyone.)

Genêt behaved in a most surprising way. No minister from a foreign country is ever supposed to have any dealings with the people except through their government. But Genêt paid little attention to Washington: he appealed directly to the people. He called for recruits for an army; had a ship built to help the French against the English; insulted the British minister to the United States; and did everything he could to get the United States into war with England.

But Washington kept America neutral. He asked the French to recall their minister, and issued a famous proclamation reminding our people that the United States was at peace with all nations, and that it was their duty to remain

neutral. This policy was bitterly disliked by part of our people; but the majority soon came to approve it. Our new government was badly in debt and without army or navy. It was in no position to enter a European war. Our only wise policy at that time was to keep out of European troubles. (Why was it then more possible to keep out than it was a century later?)

The Jay Treaty of 1794. — One reason why Genêt's conduct was so dangerous was that we already had several serious disputes with England. Washington now sent John Jay to that country to negotiate a treaty which would settle those troubles. Jay succeeded in getting England to give up the posts on the northern boundary which she had held so long (p. 194), and to open her ports in the *East Indies* to American merchants. What Americans wanted most, however, was the right to trade with the British *West Indies* (p. 195). The arrangements that Jay got for that were very poor; and the Senate refused absolutely to accept that part of the treaty. Washington and Hamilton induced the Senate to ratify the rest of the treaty; but it was exceedingly unpopular with the people — and so, for a time, were the Federalist leaders.

Treaties of course are drawn up by the Department of State, and signed by the President. But the Constitution provides that they must also be agreed to, or *ratified*, in the Senate by a two-thirds vote.

One other part of the treaty, however, was a step forward for civilization. It provided for *the first arbitration* of a boundary dispute *by an international court*.

The treaty of 1783 had named the St. Croix River as part of the northeastern boundary of Maine. But that unexplored region had several rivers known by that name; and the map on which the treaty-makers had marked the bound-

ary in red ink had been lost. So several thousand square miles of territory were claimed both by us and by England in a perfectly honest dispute. Jay's treaty left this matter to be decided by a commission. Four experts (two chosen by each country) were to examine witnesses and investigate the subject, and were sworn to do justice according to the merits of the case—just as an ordinary court decides title to property in a dispute between two men.

To be sure, there was violent outcry in both countries against this sensible arrangement. Some Englishmen attacked their government for "basely sacrificing British *honor*"; and on this side the Atlantic there was much silly clamor that we must not "surrender a foot of American soil without fighting to the last drop of our blood." The trouble was, we did not know what *was* our soil, and we were not likely to find out by fighting. Hamilton's reply to that pretended patriotism could not be answered. "It would be a horrid and destructive principle," said he, "that nations could not terminate a dispute about a parcel of territory by peaceful arbitration, but only by war."

The next year (1795) an important treaty was made with Spain. The treaty of 1783 left New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi to that country (p. 188). We have seen that the people of Kentucky and Tennessee and the Northwest Territory could not get goods to market except by floating them down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. From that port they had to be carried by sea to our Atlantic ports or to foreign countries. But the Spanish governors at New Orleans charged American boatmen outrageously high tolls for the right to unload goods at the wharves there (so as to reship to ocean-going vessels), and sometimes they refused that right altogether and confiscated the goods.

The Westerners besieged Congress with petitions to get for them this "right of deposit," without which most of

their produce was worthless. But Congress was made up almost wholly of men from the Atlantic seaboard, and could not see the importance of this Western trade. Washington, however, realized it, and sent a minister to Spain to negotiate a treaty on the matter. In 1795 Spain did grant to citizens of the United States this right to navigate the Mississippi and to "deposit" goods at New Orleans.

The Federalists held power for twelve years, 1789-1801. At the close of his first term, Washington was reelected. He declined to accept a third term; and before retiring to his home at Mt. Vernon, he wrote his famous "Farewell Address," in which he urged his fellow citizens to build up their country by preserving peace not only with foreign countries but among themselves. In the campaign of 1796, *John Adams* was chosen President.

Adams' presidency was largely taken up with troubles with France. That country was angry because the United States had made the Jay Treaty with England, instead of joining France against her. The French government sent our minister home in an insulting way. Adams then sent some commissioners to Paris to try to make our peace with the government there, but they were treated shamefully. The French government even sent men to tell them that they would not be received at all unless they first paid the French ministers a large bribe.

When these facts were published in America, the French agents were called X, Y, and Z, — so that the whole affair has always been known as the X Y Z affair. When Americans heard the story, they were furious. Everywhere they shouted the war-cry, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." Adams was applauded when he stated that he would send no more representatives to France until he could be sure they would be properly received.



GEORGE WASHINGTON in old age. — The famous portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

FROM WASHINGTON'S *FAREWELL ADDRESS*

This government, the offspring of our own choice . . . completely free in its principles . . . uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.

.

Promote institutions for the diffusion of knowledge. . . . Observe good faith and justice toward nations, and cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . .

Congress immediately began preparations for war. Washington was made Commander in Chief of the army; a Navy Department was created, and ships for a new navy were built. During the next few months the French captured many of our merchant vessels. Our frigates, in turn, captured several French privateers and some French frigates.

But this little naval war did not last long. Just at this time the young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, came to the head of affairs in France.

He had great plans for the conquest of Europe, and did not wish to keep up a petty war with the United States. Many Americans were so angry with France that they would have preferred to go on fighting anyway; but Adams saw how foolish that would be, and took the first opportunity to make an honorable peace.



NAPOLÉON. — Portrait by Vernet.

The Alien and Sedition Acts. — The worst result of our short war with France was bad feeling at home, — a common result of war.

The Federalists thought the Republicans dangerous because of their sympathies with the French Revolution; and so the Federalist Congress passed some new laws, known as the *Alien and Sedition Acts*. These laws (1) gave the President power to imprison or send out of the country ("deport") any aliens whom he considered dangerous, and (2) made it a crime for newspapers or speakers to criticize the government or its officers. A new *Naturalization Act* was passed also, re-

quiring foreigners to live *fourteen years* in the United States before becoming citizens, instead of only five years, as before.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. — Soon, some Republican editors were imprisoned and fined, under the sedition law, for criticizing Adams. Then the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky, where the Republican party was strongest, passed resolutions (in 1798 and 1799) declaring that these laws were *unconstitutional*. According to the Constitution, they said, Congress had no power to pass laws which interfered with freedom of the press and of speech.

But though the laws were unpopular, the legislatures of other States did not join Virginia and Kentucky in this stand. People were beginning to see that if the *States* were to have power to say whether laws passed by the central government were constitutional or not, there would soon be no central government and things would be as bad as under the Confederation.

The Republicans Win in 1800. — However, there was a way to remedy things without destroying the authority of the government. A new election was approaching; and the people could put the power of government into other hands. The Federalists, who had passed the Sedition law, were defeated in the election. Jefferson became President; and a majority of Democratic-Republicans were chosen to Congress. The time necessary for naturalization was then put back to five years. The rest of the Alien and Sedition Acts (which had been passed for only two years) expired, and the new Republican Congress of course did not renew them.

Old World countries had been very slow to give a man the right to change his citizenship from one country to another. But **America** which was made up so largely of newcomers from other lands, **very naturally led the way in extending this important human right.** Our new nation insisted that a man coming to us from any other land might soon become a full citizen, if he *chose*

citizenship here instead of in his old home. (Congress of course had to pass laws to say just how the change should be brought about.) Such citizens were called "naturalized," in contrast with American-born citizens. And the process by which they acquired citizenship was called *Naturalization*.

FURTHER READINGS

Books which give interesting facts about the first twelve years under the Constitution are: Hart, *Source Book*; Johnson, *Union and Democracy*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Nation*, Vol. 2; Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*; Walker, *The Making of the Nation*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Make a list of the important events in the administrations of Washington and Adams.
2. How do we raise money now to support the government? Do you think it is better to tax or to issue bonds? Why? Why is it sometimes necessary to do both?
3. Why was the United States so badly in debt in 1790? What is most of our government's money spent for?
4. Should you have been a Federalist or a Democratic-Republican in 1800? Make a list of the things in which each party believed. That is, write a *platform* for each.
5. How are amendments made? Read carefully the first lines of Article V of the Constitution before you try to answer this question. Is more than one way provided there? What way has been used, so far as you can find out? Are any amendments under consideration now?
6. Why did Washington feel the United States should keep out of European affairs? Do the same reasons hold true now?



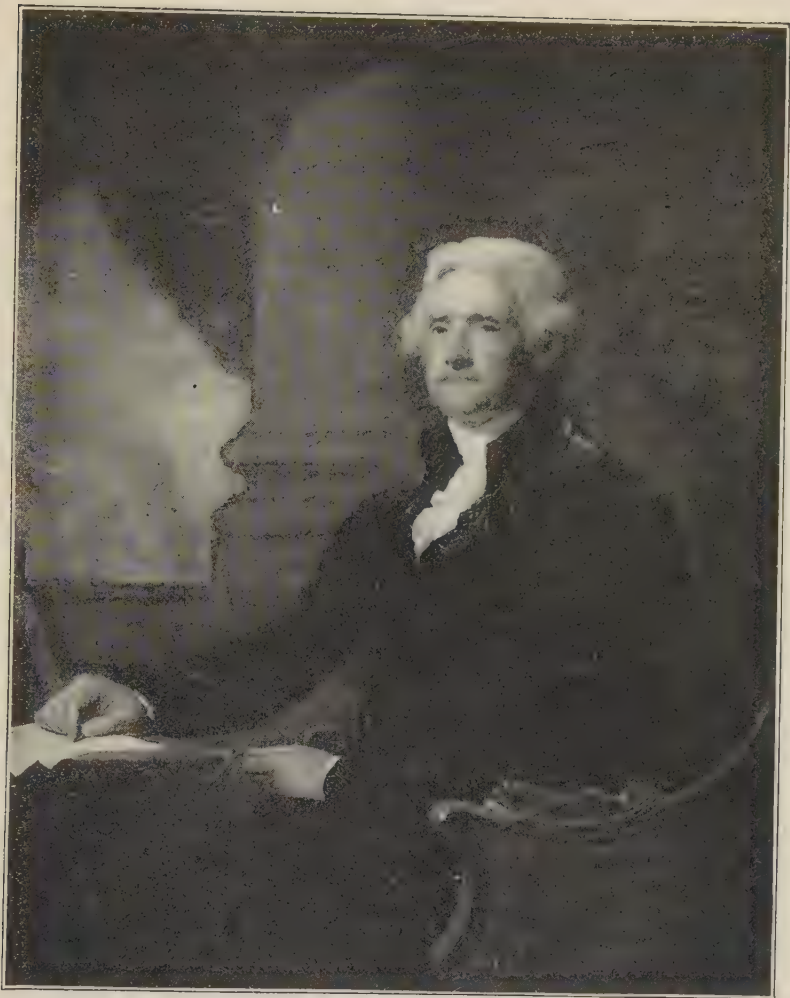
SIGNING THE LOUISIANA TREATY (p. 243). A relief sculpture by Karl Bitter on the base of the Louisiana Purchase Monument at St. Louis, showing Livingston (left), Monroe (center), and Marbois, the French representative.

CHAPTER XVI

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1801-1809

The election of 1800 seemed a real revolution to men of that time. Many Federalists feared that the victorious Republicans would be as violent and bloody as the French Revolutionists had been — or, at the very least, that they would do away with the Constitution. Such fears seem absurd now. We are used to seeing one party take control of the government away from another. But it had never happened before in our history.

The Federalists keep Control of the Courts. — The election took place in November, and the old government remained in power till March. (Do we still have this four months' delay after the election of a president? Is there the same excuse for it now?) During these four months the old Federalist Congress created many new judgeships — to which men are *appointed*, not *elected* — and the Federalist



THOMAS JEFFERSON. — From Stuart's portrait.

After leaving the presidency in 1809, Jefferson lived quietly, farming his estate at Monticello, until his death (the same day with that of John Adams) on July 4, 1826. He took especial pleasure in having introduced into America a better kind of rice than had been grown here before: "the greatest service which can be rendered any country," he said, "is to add a useful plant to its cultivation." Among his noblest hopes had been an early plan to set up in Virginia a system of public schools; but in this his earnest efforts failed. The modest shaft that marks his grave bears the worthy inscription, — "Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

FROM JEFFERSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL

These are the essential principles of our government :
Equal and exact justice to all; peace, commerce,
honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances
with none; . . . the preservation of the General Gov-
ernment . . . as the sheet anchor of our peace at home
and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of
election by the people; absolute acquiescence in the
decisions of the majority; . . . economy in the public
expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the
honest payment of our debts; . . . encouragement
of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the
diffusion of information; . . . freedom of religion,
freedom of the press, and freedom of person.

.
This is the sum of good government: a wise and
frugal government which shall restrain men from
injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to
regulate their own pursuits . . . and shall not take
from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.

President filled the new life-offices with Federalists. Some of these judges were not appointed until late in the evening of the last day of Adams' term, and they have always been known as "The Midnight Judges." (Is a defeated party ever guilty of such conduct now?)

Jefferson's Moderation. — The Federalists soon found that Jefferson was as anxious to keep the country at peace, with all the machinery of government running smoothly, as they themselves had been. Indeed, he declared in his Inaugural: "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." (What do you think Jefferson meant by this? Read his statements about the purposes of government, printed on the back of his portrait facing page 240, and compare them with Washington's ideas that are printed opposite page 237.)

There were many *little* ways, however, in which Jefferson's administration differed from those before. Instead of riding to his inauguration in a coach drawn by six horses, Jefferson *walked* across the square between his boarding house and the capitol. He gave up the *formal* receptions held by Washington and Adams: instead, he received visitors freely, and with little ceremony. Some of the foreign ministers to the United States, used to the formalities of royal courts, were quite shocked; but this "**Republican simplicity**" pleased the plain people of America.

Economy and Reduction of the Debt. — The Federalist administrations had paid *interest* regularly on the national debt. Jefferson and his brilliant Secretary of the Treasury, *Albert Gallatin*, began paying off the debt itself, part each year. To do this, they economized government expenses rigidly. The army and navy were both made smaller, and many government offices were abolished.

But in spite of their desire to get the debt paid off quickly, *Jefferson and Gallatin persuaded Congress to do away with the unpopular excise tax* (p. 227). This cut off a large part of

the government's income. But the tariff revenues kept increasing (because our trade with foreign countries was growing), and money was coming into the Treasury also from the sale of public lands. Half the debt was paid in Jefferson's administration — although, as we shall see, some unexpected expenses had to be met.

War with the Barbary Pirates. — In the first place, the United States was drawn into war with the Barbary pirates



A SCENE IN THE WAR WITH THE BARBARY PIRATES: Reuben James, already wounded, interposes his own head to save the life of his commander, Decatur.

on the northern coast of Africa. These corsairs swarmed over the Mediterranean, capturing ships. Even the greatest European nations had been in the habit of paying them regular tribute, to save their ships from capture.

Jefferson refused to continue to pay this disgraceful bribe. The pirates then began to seize our merchant ships and to make slaves of American sailors. But a small fleet of American ships was promptly ordered to the Mediterranean, to besiege Tripoli. After two years of fighting, in which

the Americans showed great gallantry, the Pasha of Tripoli, master of the pirates, promised that ships of the United States should no longer be molested.

The Louisiana Purchase. — Another increase of the national debt came because of a vast addition to our territory. The most remarkable event in Jefferson's administration was

the purchase of Louisiana. This name then belonged to all the western half of the Mississippi valley — an immense territory of nearly nine hundred thousand square miles.

In 1800, Napoleon forced Spain to cede this huge province back to France. Then the governor at New Orleans withdrew from American traders the "right of deposit" (p. 236). Our Western settlers were at once up in arms. If the United States could not get fair treatment for them, said they, they themselves would seize New Orleans and set up there an independent government.

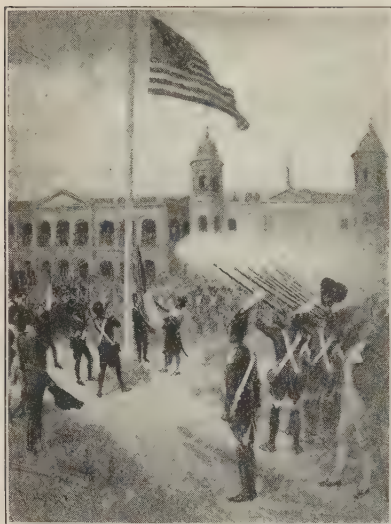
Jefferson understood the needs of the West better than most statesmen in the East did. He had been a warm admirer of France, too; but he saw that — at the mouth of the Mississippi — she would probably become our enemy. Spain's power had decayed until she had ceased to be dangerous there; but it would be a different thing to have powerful and ambitious France in control of the mouth of our great river.

So to protect the welfare of our West and at the same time to prevent war, Jefferson instructed Livingston, our minister to France, to buy New Orleans, and sent James Monroe, as special envoy, to help him. (None of the three Americans dreamed, so far, of getting *more* than the little island of New Orleans. That, indeed, would give us control of the navigation of the river.)

Meantime, Napoleon made a sudden change of front. He had decided to go to war with England, who had the mightiest navy in the world. He had no fleet to protect distant colonies; and he needed money. So he astounded Livingston (before Monroe arrived) by offering all Louisiana to the United States for fifteen million dollars.

The American commissioners had no authority to buy so much land or to spend so much money, but it was too wonderful a chance to miss; and (April 30, 1803) they signed the agreement. "We have lived long," said Livingston,

“but this is the noblest work of our lives. The treaty we have just signed will change vast solitudes into a flourishing country. . . . (It) will cause no tears to flow. It will prepare centuries of happiness for innumerable generations of the human race.”



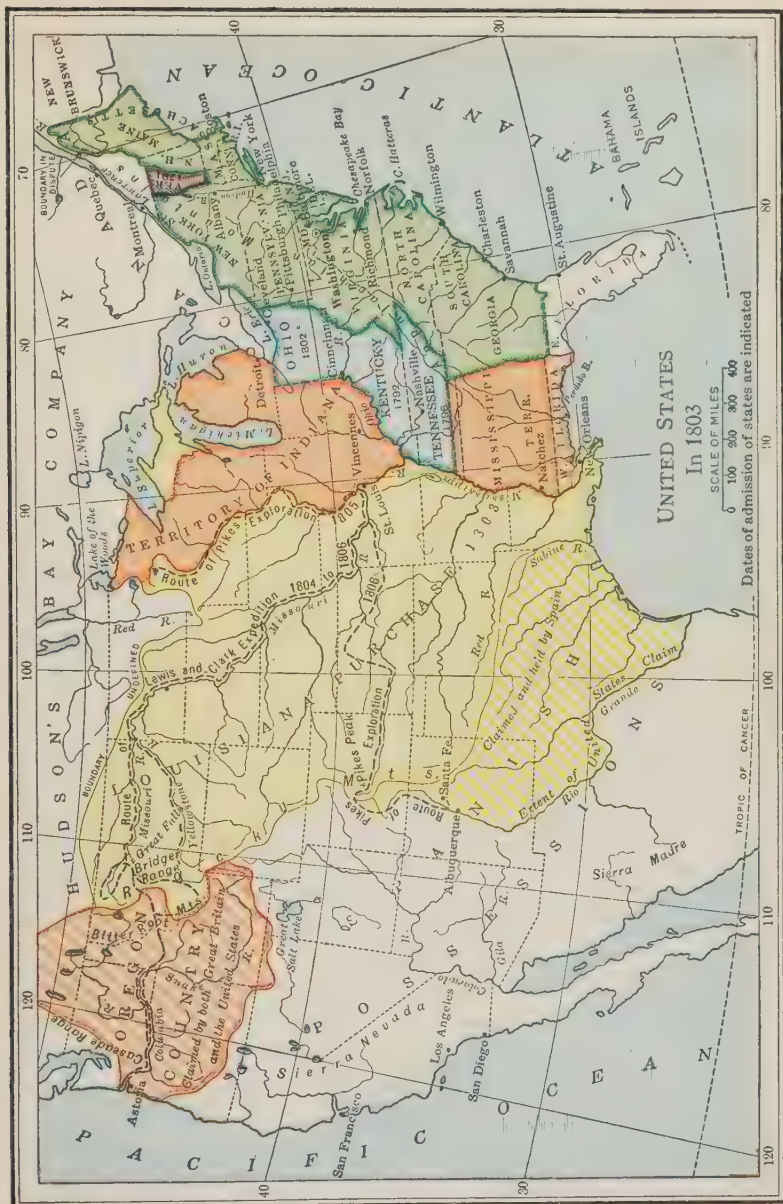
RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG AT NEW ORLEANS after the formal ceremony of transferring the Louisiana territory to the United States had been completed in the *Cabildo*, the stately old Spanish town hall in the background. — A painting by Thulstrup.

Just at first, Jefferson was puzzled as to what to do. He believed, you remember, that the government should use no power not plainly given by the Constitution. There was nothing in that document about buying territory. But even better than Livingston, he saw the magnificent future opened to America by the purchase. So he laid aside his scruples; and his supporters in the Senate

ratified the treaty over the opposition of the Federalists there.

Thus, when in power, the Republicans found it convenient to use the loose construction of the Constitution, which they had bitterly criticised the Federalists for using. Either party, when in office, is pretty sure to wish to extend the power of the government.

Exploration of the New Territory. — This purchase more than doubled the territory of the United States. At the mouth of the Mississippi there were old French and Spanish settlements — the city of New Orleans and rich plantations



stretching for miles up the river. Further up the river were forts and trading posts, the largest of which was St. Louis (p. 129). But most of the vast territory had never been visited by white men.

Jefferson now sent an expedition to explore it. For leaders he chose *Meriwether Lewis*, his own private secretary, and *William Clark*, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark. Lewis and Clark selected fit men for the expedition, — soldiers, frontier scouts, wood and iron workers, hunters, and cooks; and in May of 1804 they started up the Missouri from St. Louis in three large rowboats, with sails to help on the way. They met with many dangers, both from the shoals and rapids of the treacherous river, and from the hostile Indians along its banks. It was not until June, 1805, that they arrived at the Great Falls of the Missouri. There they found it necessary to abandon their boats.

They were now in a region over which white men had never journeyed, with the great Rockies rising like an impenetrable barrier before them. Fortunately they had a faithful guide in a young Indian woman, Sacajawea, the "Bird Woman." Through passes in the mountains she led them,



MERIWETHER LEWIS in hunting costume. From Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* (Houghton Mifflin Co.), after a drawing by one of Lewis' friends, found among the papers of Captain Clark.

her papoose on her back, till they reached the navigable waters of a river flowing *westward*. They built canoes and sailed down this river to its mouth. There they recognized it as a river Jefferson had hoped they would be able to find, — the river already visited by Captain Gray ten years earlier, and named for his ship *Columbia* (p. 214).



SACAJAWEA, the "Bird Woman." This statue by Alice Cooper stands in the city park of Portland, Oregon.

Thus in a year and a half the expedition had made its way four thousand miles through an absolutely wild country. The return trip took another year. Lewis and Clark brought back careful maps of the country, specimens of plants and minerals, accounts of the Indian tribes there, and a complete journal of their thrilling adventures. Their reports fired the imagination of the East to try new adventures of trade and settlement in the far Northwest, and helped to fix the claims of the United States to Oregon.

While Lewis and Clark were in the great Northwest, *Lieutenant Zebulon Pike* was sent to trace the upper waters of the Mississippi to their source, and then to explore the southwestern boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase. In the second of these two expeditions, after reaching the Rockies and discovering *Pikes Peak*, Pike crossed the Rio Grande into Spanish territory. There he was taken prisoner and carried to Santa Fe; but when the Spanish authorities



JEFFERSON CONGRATULATING LEWIS AND CLARK ON THEIR SUCCESS. — A wall painting in the Missouri State Capitol.



COURT OF THE FOUNTAIN in the Old French Quarter of New Orleans to-day.
See page 121.



© Detroit Publishing Co.

SPANISH MOBILE, — Government Street, Mobile, Alabama.

Note the likeness to the New Orleans town hall, p. 244.

learned he was only *exploring*, they escorted him back to the American boundary and set him free.

The Louisiana Purchase led us into disputes about other territory. The *boundaries* of the purchase were not well explained in the treaty with France. We claimed that we had bought with the rest the little strip along the Gulf of Mexico known as *West Florida* (see map facing p. 244). Spain said that could not be, as she had never sold West Florida to France.

This region contained a few good harbors that our people wanted, like that of Mobile; but most of it was a mass of forest and swamp. It was a refuge for runaway slaves and hostile Indians, and even for American criminals. Bit by bit we seized and "occupied" it, on the ground that Spain did not keep order on the borders, and that we owned it anyway.

The matter was disputed for years. Finally in 1819 we purchased from Spain the *whole* of Florida (including West Florida) for five million dollars. In the treaty of purchase we assured Spain that we would not make a claim to Texas on the West (which we might have claimed as part of the Louisiana Purchase, but which no one then cared about); and Spain for her part signed away her shadowy claims to the Oregon country.

This did not settle the Oregon question, however, since England claimed that region, too. But in 1818 the United



Keystone ©

PIKES PEAK — in the distance.

States and England agreed to leave the question of ownership undecided for twenty years and meantime to occupy the country *together*.

The Two-term Principle Established. — Jefferson was President for eight years. The nation was so well satisfied that his second election was nearly unanimous. The Federalist party had almost disappeared.

Just after his second inauguration, State legislatures began to pass resolutions urging him to become a candidate for a third term also. Jefferson declined. Some limit to a President's term, he said, should be fixed by *custom* (since none was set up in the Constitution), or the President might come to serve for life. A longer service than for two terms, he thought, would be "dangerous to Republican institutions." This principle has ever since been accepted as part of our *unwritten* Constitution.

Jefferson's two administrations had been a period of expansion and prosperity at home. But, toward the close, our relations with France and England were becoming even more troubled than they had been in the time of Washington and Adams. We must stop here for a study of those foreign difficulties.

FURTHER READINGS

For more information on Jefferson and the events of his administration, read in some of the following books: Grinnell, *Trails of the Pathfinders*; Hart, *Source Book*; McMurry, *Pioneers in the Rocky Mountains*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People and Men Who Made the Nation*; Tappan, *American Hero Stories*; Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*. For Napoleon and his ambitions, read in West, *Modern Progress*. Stories of the Barbary War are in Brooks, *The American Sailor*; Coffin, *Building the Nation*; Wright, *Stories of American Progress*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Before 1800, Jefferson had said that Spanish Florida and New Orleans would "drop into our hands when we were ready for them." Why did he feel differently about *French* New Orleans?

2. On an outline map show the territory included in the Louisiana Purchase, the route followed by Lewis and Clark, the route of Pike. (Cf. map after p. 244.) Compare the trip of Lewis and Clark with a trip across the continent to-day.

3. Do you think the Louisiana Purchase was a bargain, or do you think it was a mistake? What States and parts of States have been formed from that district?

4. What is meant by the expression "our unwritten constitution"? Can you think of any other part of our unwritten constitution besides the principle of no third terms for Presidents?

5. When Washington declined a third term, he did so on the ground of his health and for other *personal* reasons. Do you see any difference between this and Jefferson's action?

6. By what countries was the United States bounded in 1800? In 1803?



PERRY CHANGING FLAGSHIPS AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE (p. 260).

CHAPTER XVII

AMERICA AND EUROPE, 1800-1823

I. AMERICA TRIES IN VAIN TO KEEP OUT OF WAR

The wars that broke out in Europe in 1792 (p. 233) went on with brief interruptions until 1815. **Almost to the end, the United States continued the policy of neutrality** begun by Washington. The Federalists had feared that when the Republicans came into power, they would join France against England; but Jefferson proved just as determined as Washington to keep the peace.

But it grew harder and harder to do this. To be sure, it still took six weeks to send people or goods or news across the Atlantic, instead of six days for goods and a few seconds for news, as now; but even in that day it was not easy for the United States to keep on saying, "We will keep to ourselves and manage our affairs in peace; it makes no difference to us what other peoples do." The fact that European countries were fighting *did* make a difference to us.

England and France both disregarded the commercial rights of neutral nations. In some ways, perhaps, it was an advantage for a nation to be neutral when nearly all other countries were at war. For instance, American ships got the business of carrying goods from the French West Indies to France. French navigation laws did not permit this in time of peace; but now the French government welcomed it, because the English navy kept France from getting those goods in her own ships.

But England's main chance to crush France was by shutting off all her commerce of this sort. She had driven French trading ships from the ocean; and now, she complained, American ships were doing their work for them under a neutral flag. So England soon began to seize American ships engaged in this trade, declaring that she would not permit us to carry any French goods in time of war that France would not let us carry in time of peace. The United States, on the other hand, claimed that "free ships make free goods" — that is, that a neutral country could carry in its ships anything it liked (except of course, *contraband* articles such as could be used directly in carrying on war, like powder and guns).

There was another serious difference of feeling about *blockade*. Everybody agreed that a nation at war had the right to blockade its enemy's ports if it could, and that it also had the right to capture any neutral ship which even *attempted* to enter a blockaded port. But the nations did



AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIP TAKING ON CARGO.

not agree as to when a port *was* blockaded. England declared *all* French ports blockaded. The United States said that this was a mere *paper blockade*, and refused to regard a blockade as real unless battleships were actually posted so near the port as to make it hard for a neutral ship to enter.

Of course, even the English navy could blockade only a few ports in this way. Instead, England began to stop and search American ships wherever she found them, on the high seas, and if a ship's papers showed the vessel was *bound* for a French port, both ship and cargo were seized.

Even sooner, Napoleon had issued decrees forbidding neutrals to trade with England at all. After 1805 practically all Europe was drawn into the war on one side or the other; and then *whatever American ships* (sailing to Europe) *were not subject to capture by England were subject to capture by France*. Some American shipmasters even carried two sets of papers, — one stating that the vessel was bound for an English port, to show if stopped by an English war vessel; and the other stating that it was bound for France, to show to any French ship that might come along.

Of course these English and French decrees were not put out *in order* to hurt the United States. France and England each wished, mainly anyway, to hurt each other; but they did not care very much if neutral nations also were hurt in the process. When two countries are at war, neither pays much attention to the rights of neutrals. We found this to be true in the World War recently; and a hundred years ago our position was even harder, because we were a young country, for whom neither fighting nation had much respect.

Impressment of American Sailors. — Besides these matters of *commerce*, the United States had a more serious grievance against England and France. Both those countries "impressed" many American seamen.

England had long claimed the right to seize any Englishman anywhere for service in her navy. The treatment of

sailors on an English man-of-war, however, was very harsh, and the sailors hated the service. Many deserted to American merchant vessels, where they were better treated; and some emigrated to the United States and became naturalized American citizens (p. 238). But England at that time still said that no Englishman could ever become a citizen of any other country. "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman" was a common saying in English law. So England's war vessels lay in wait for American merchant ships at sea, and even just outside our own ports, to search for and carry off all *English-born* seamen, whether they were naturalized American citizens or not.

Worst of all, mistakes were sometimes made, and *American-born* citizens were carried off in this way into a sort of slavery on English men-of-war. It was not easy to tell an Englishman from an American of the same name, since all spoke the same language and were descended from the same stock. And sometimes a brutal captain, angered because so many of his men had deserted, cared more about getting *some* man than about getting the "right" one.

The French claimed a like right to seize French-born seamen from our ships, and did take a good many, along with some American citizens. But there was not the same chance of their making mistakes. French and Americans did not resemble each other so closely as English and Americans did. And besides, there were not so many French warships on the ocean to injure us in this way.

The *Leopard-Chesapeake* Outrage. — So far, all these seizures had been from vessels owned by private individuals. Even so, feeling in America had sometimes risen very high. And now in 1806, the British warship *Leopard*, lying in wait for the American frigate *Chesapeake*, took it completely by surprise, as it left port, ordered it to stop to be searched, and fired on it when it refused. Three American sailors were killed and eighteen more wounded, and the disabled

Chesapeake was forced to yield. The British ship then took off four English deserters; but *three of these were American seamen who had previously been "impressed" into the English navy.*

This attack upon a government ship made many Americans want to fight. But Jefferson (who, as he said, had a "passion for peace") used all his influence to keep the country out of war. Many months later, the English government did apologize for the outrage; but it still kept battleships just outside our ports, lying in wait to search American *merchant* ships.

The Embargo. — The United States had made many attempts to get the fighting European countries to pay some attention to her rights. One reason why the Jay Treaty had been so unpopular was that it did not make England promise to stop "impressing" our sailors or admit that "Free ships make free goods." The X Y Z affair and our brief naval war with France had grown out of an unsuccessful attempt in Adams' administration to arrange such matters with France.

Providence and Philadelphia
Packets.



THE following vessels have commenced running as a line of Packets between the above ports:

Schr. Herald, Abira Hall, master
Messenger, Edward Hall, do
Domestick, David Hall, do
James Burrill, Abner Hall, do

All excellent vessels, and well commanded, one of which is expected to sail every week from this port. The captains have the privilege of acting as their own pilots. For freight or passage apply on board, or to

ROYAL FARNUM.
May 23. tf.

THE COASTING TRADE long remained an important part of our commerce. The above advertisement from a Philadelphia paper of 1825 shows that sloops had begun to sail at regular dates. Cf. p. 137. From Sparks' *Men Who Made the Nation* (Macmillan).

Jefferson tried another way of making European countries listen to American claims. During the quarrels with England before the Revolution, we had sometimes got what we wanted by refusing to import English goods. So our government, soon after 1800, passed several acts to limit our trade with England and France. Finally, in 1807 Jefferson persuaded Congress to pass an *Embargo Act* forbidding American ships to leave port *at all* except for another American port.

Jefferson called this policy "commercial coercion." Many people believe now that such commercial coercion by a league of nations can be used instead of real war to bring an unruly country to time; and in that early day Jefferson believed that America *all by herself* could use it as a substitute for war. "Our commerce is so valuable to European nations," he argued, "that they will be glad to purchase it when the only price we ask is that they do us justice."

The Embargo did hurt English merchants and manufacturers and factory workers terribly, and the absence of American foodstuffs caused great suffering among all the poorer classes in that country; but none of those people had much influence in Parliament -- which was still controlled by the landholding class (p. 192).

And meantime the Embargo also hurt America; and our people were too impatient to give the method a fair trial. Farmers could not sell their food crops; shipowners saw their vessels and crews idle; and merchants could not buy or sell the usual European goods. So after only a year the general outcry compelled Congress to repeal the law. Critics complained that the Embargo was merely a way of cutting off our nose to spite Europe's face. But Europe, and especially England, had been suffering more than America; and the critics (who said that they preferred open war to the Embargo) forgot that in war, even in a successful war, America would have to suffer, as well as her foes.

The unpopularity of the Embargo cast a cloud upon the closing months of Jefferson's administration; but (1808) he was able to secure the election of his young friend, *James Madison*, for his successor. Madison had been Jefferson's Secretary of State and was in warm sympathy with his policies.

When Congress repealed the Embargo, it passed instead a "**Non-intercourse Act.**" This law forbade all trade with France and England, but *gave the President power to start*

trade again with whichever nation should first withdraw its orders against neutral commerce. In 1810, Napoleon pretended to do this ; and so President Madison at once declared trade restored with France. But when hundreds of American ships had entered French harbors, trusting to Napoleon's treacherous promise, that ruler seized and confiscated them.

II. THE WAR OF 1812

The United States had good reason for feeling hostile to both France and England. But we could not very well fight both of them while they were fighting each other, even if we had been strong enough ; and finally we chose to fight England.

In 1810, a group of brilliant young men made their first appearance in Congress, — among them *Henry Clay* of Kentucky and *John C. Calhoun* of South Carolina. These new leaders, with their followers, were called " War Hawks," and took pride in the name. Madison needed their support to reëlect him in 1812 ; and they finally persuaded him to give up the peace policy which he had been trying to preserve. **Then in 1812 war was declared against England.**

The principal reasons why we chose to fight England instead of France were as follows :

1. Men still remembered the Revolutionary War, and so felt more friendly to France than to England.
2. The English were much stronger than France on the sea, and so had damaged us more than France.
3. No one act of France had been so insulting to the American flag as the *Chesapeake* affair had been.
4. Both European governments had shown contempt for America, but the English had *spoken* their feeling more bluntly than the tactful French had.
5. Our Westerners believed that England had been encouraging the Indian tribes to attack our borders.

We know now that this was not true, so far as the English government was concerned ; but the savages did often get guns (to use against our frontiersmen) from lawless English fur traders in the Northwest.

We can see now that the War of 1812 was a mistake. In the first place, *the country was totally unprepared.* The "economy" of Jefferson and Gallatin had left us hardly any army and a very small navy. Moreover, the army officers were inexperienced. Some of them as boys had fought in the Revolution, thirty years before ; but they proved not at all equal to the task now before them. The men who in the end saved American reputation were soldiers who had been trained as Indian fighters in the West, like William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson.

In the second place, *the nation was divided.* New England and New York did not want war. To be sure, it was mainly their shipping and their sailors that had been carried off ; but, in spite of those injuries, their commerce was growing fast (while almost all other countries were at war), and they were unwilling to give up the rich profits. Some of the New England States refused to raise the men and money called for by President and Congress ; and New England merchants even furnished the English troops in Canada with provisions. Leading New England Federalists, who had been indignant at the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (p. 238), now even talked secession. Late in 1814, the New England States held a **Convention** at **Hartford**, to arrange to withdraw from the war. This might have caused serious trouble, except that the war closed almost immediately afterward, — sooner than had been expected.

A third reason for calling the war a mistake is that *it was unnecessary.* If there had been an Atlantic cable in that day, war would not have been declared. England had just agreed to all the demands of the United States ; but the

messenger bearing the news across the Atlantic did not arrive in Washington until after war had begun — and then there seemed nothing for it but to fight it out.

The Story of the War. — The year 1812 saw only defeat for American armies *on land*. Three attempts to invade Canada failed — at Detroit, at Fort Niagara, and by way of Lake Champlain. Timid generals retreated without



striking a blow; and in one battle, a force of State militia stood calmly by, refusing to cross their State line to go to the help of an American army which was being cut to pieces just over their border. At the end of the year, the British held possession of all the border forts in the Northwest.

On the sea, the story was different. To be sure, we had only seventeen war vessels to oppose to England's thousand. Many of the English ships, too, were much larger than any of ours; but our boats were well built and better manned. Time after time, as long as any of them could get out of harbor at all, American ships surprised the world by winning striking victories over their haughty English foes — until

even Englishmen frankly confessed that, ship for ship, the Americans could outsail and outfight them.

In the first naval battle of the war, the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, met and sank the English man-of-war *Guerrière*, to the amazement of all Europe. The *Constitution* continued to win such success that she was given the nickname "Old Ironsides", though of course this was long before the days of real ironclads. Other splendid victories, won by the able commanders *Decatur*, *Lawrence*, and *Bainbridge*, roused the pride of Americans in their little navy. Even our defeats were glorious. The *Chesapeake* was finally beaten by the British *Shannon*; but Captain Lawrence called to his men with his dying breath, "Don't give up the ship!" — heroic words which have rung down the years to young Americans ever since.

By the end of the first year, to be sure, our ports were blockaded by the huge British fleet, and our battleships could no longer put out to sea. But then, as during the Revolution, little privateers, slipping out anywhere along our coast, carried on the war. Before the end, such ships captured more than a thousand British merchant vessels.



JAMES LAWRENCE. — From a painting by Chappel.

One of the most important naval battles of the war was fought on *Lake Erie*. The English had quite a fleet there; and a young American officer, *Captain Oliver H. Perry*, was sent to attack them. Perry had to cut down trees, saw up the logs, and build his ships out of the green lumber; and he had also to make sailors out of backwoodsmen. But in September, 1813, his fleet met the British at Put-in-Bay.

Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, carried a flag bearing the dying words of the hero for whom the vessel was named, "Don't Give up the Ship." During the battle, the *Law-*

rence was completely disabled. Perry refused to surrender. Instead, he embarked with the surviving sailors in a row-boat. Standing with his flag in his hand, he was rowed under the enemy's fire to the *Niagara*, another of his vessels. A few minutes later, the English commander had to surrender. Perry sent notice of his victory to *General Harrison*, who had now been made commander in the Northwest, in a dispatch written hastily on the back of an old envelope. The words have



MACDONOUGH. — From a portrait by Chappel.

been famous ever since: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours — two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." (See picture on p. 250.)

Perry's victory had important results on the land campaign. It enabled Harrison to retake Detroit and to cross into

Canada. There he won a decisive victory in the *Battle of the Thames* (October 5, 1813). This restored the whole Northwest to the Americans.

In Europe, Napoleon had now been defeated. This left England free to send larger forces against the United States. Her plans for 1814 were (1) to invade from Canada by way of Lake Champlain; (2) to attack American ports on the Atlantic and seize the capital; and (3) to invade from the south by way of the Mississippi.

The first plan was ruined by an American victory at *Plattsburg Bay*, where *Commodore MacDonough* captured a large part of the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The British invading army was forced to retreat into Canada, and no further attempt was made from that direction.

In the second plan the British were at first victorious. They landed an army on the shore of Chesapeake Bay,



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, which was burned by the British raid in 1814, known sometimes as *The Old Capitol*. — From Woodrow Wilson's *American People*, published by Harpers: Compare with pictures of the Capitol to-day.

defeated the troops gathered hastily for the defense of the American capital, drove the government officials and their families in hurried flight from the city, and burned the government buildings there. The British fleet and army then united in an attack on Baltimore. But here they were unsuccessful, and they soon withdrew to the West Indies.

During the attack on Baltimore, *Francis Scott Key*, a prisoner on one of the British ships, wrote the *Star Spangled*

Banner. Through the night the glare of the guns showed him from time to time the American flag over the fortifications. Toward morning the firing ceased, and for a while he had no way of telling whether the flag was still in its place; but "by the dawn's early light" he saw it flying victoriously.

Late in the year the British started to carry out their third plan. To attack New Orleans they sent a large army of twelve thousand veterans who had fought victoriously in Europe against Napoleon's great generals. *Andrew Jackson* was given command of a small army of frontiersmen to meet this attack. Jackson was a citizen of Tennessee. He had long been a hero among his fellow citizens, and in this war he had already won several victories over the Southwest Indians. At the *Battle of New Orleans* his little force of steadfast frontier marksmen, from behind breastworks of earth and cotton bales, drove back the gallant British regiments with deadly fire — with almost no loss to themselves.

This was the most striking American victory on land; but it had no effect upon the war. That was already over. Once more, we are made to realize how slowly news traveled. The Battle of New Orleans was won on January 8, 1815. A month later the news of it reached Washington and was celebrated with great rejoicing. Then, a week later still, it was learned that a treaty of peace had been signed in Europe, *two weeks before the battle was fought!*

This Treaty of Ghent did little more than declare that the two countries had decided to make peace with each other, and that boundaries were to remain as before the war. But now that the European wars were ended, England had no reason to interfere with our commerce. Nothing was said about impressment or about seizing American goods, but these abuses were never renewed.



A PHYSICAL MAP
OF THE
UNITED STATES



THE GARRISONS THAT KEEP WATCH ON THE AMERICAN-CANADIAN FRONTIER. — The monument is one of those that stand at regular intervals to mark the border between the two countries from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific, as surveyed by an international commission. You can trace the twenty-foot line up the mountain. (This picture was taken on the border of the State of Washington. For the extension of the northern boundary line to the Pacific, see p. 344.) Compare the two laughing girls, Canadian and American, with the hostile garrisons and frowning fortresses on Old World frontiers.

**England and America Disarm
on their Common Frontier**

Then, in 1817, England and America agreed that *neither country should keep ships of war on the Great Lakes or fortify the boundary between the United States and Canada*. This was a remarkable advance toward world peace. Even yet the boundaries of all European countries bristle with fortresses, constantly breathing war; but, during all the century since that agreement, England and America have settled their many disputes peacefully and sensibly, by *arbitration*.

In 1818 the two countries agreed also upon the 49th parallel for their boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. At the same time they avoided a quarrel over the Oregon country by arranging for *joint occupation* for twenty years (pp. 247, 248).

FURTHER READINGS

Books which give interesting stories of the War of 1812 are: Brady, *American Fights and Fighters*; Brooks, *American Sailors*; Coffin, *Building the Nation*; Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*; Seawell, *Twelve Great Naval Captains*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Look up and explain carefully the meaning of the words *neutrals*, *contraband*, *impressment*, *arbitration*.

2. Do you think we are more or less affected by wars in Europe to-day than we were a hundred years ago? Why?

3. During the World War many things were considered contraband which had never been called so before. *Cotton* for instance was on the contraband list. Do you see why contraband lists have to be changed every little while? Who changes them?

4. What campaigns of the War of 1812 were fought in the same places as campaigns of the Revolution?

5. Does improvement in communication make for peace? Can you justify your answer from the story of this War of 1812?

III. THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The War of 1812 had two important effects on our relations with other countries: (1) it gave European nations more respect for us; and (2) it gave us more confidence in ourselves. One result of this self-confidence was the famous *Monroe Doctrine*, which set forth our new foreign policy of "America for Americans."

Our troubles with England were now settled, but we soon became disturbed by two things that certain European countries were doing. **The first trouble concerned Russian claims to the Oregon country.** Russia had occupied parts of Alaska for more than a hundred years (map after p. 128). Now she was extending her claims southward, warning English and Americans away even from the Oregon fisheries. The second difficulty arose because **European countries threatened to interfere with the new Spanish-American republics in Central and South America.**



BOLIVAR THE LIBERATOR.

How Spanish America Became Independent. — In 1807 Napoleon had seized Spain and made her king a prisoner. He appointed a new king over Spain, but the colonies would not accept this ruler. Instead they rebelled against their Spanish governors and set up governments of their own. For some years they

enjoyed liberty and traded where they liked. After the overthrow of Napoleon, the old Spanish king was restored to his throne; but the colonies now refused to submit to *any* Spanish rule, and began a series of wars for independence.

The two chief heroes of this movement were *San Martin* and *Bolivar*. General San Martin headed the patriots in the south, establishing republics in Chile and Argentina. Bolivar began his work of liberation in Venezuela. After establishing the Republic of Colombia, he drove the Spanish armies also out of Ecuador and the part of Peru which was afterward called Bolivia. His steadfast persistence under great obstacles, his generalship, his lifelong refusal to accept rewards for himself, earned him the name "the Washington of South America."

The United States had been the first American Republic, and our people now sympathized strongly with the struggle for liberty carried on by our southern neighbors. At the same time, too, we found it much to our own interest to have these neighbors independent. Spain's strict navigation laws had not allowed any foreign country to trade with her colonies. But now their trade was open to all the world, and the United States and England were getting most of it. So *both our sympathies and our interests were on the side of the republics; and in 1822 our government "recognized" their independence.*



The Holy Alliance in Europe Threatens the New Nations in America. — European kings and emperors had been well frightened by the French Revolution, and they still feared that other such revolutions might break out. Soon after their victory over Napoleon, the three most despotic rulers

— the king of Prussia, the emperor of Austria, and the tsar of Russia — had made an agreement to help one another put down any attempt by *any* people of Europe to set up a free government. The new king of France, who had been placed on the throne by the European monarchs after the overthrow of Napoleon, soon joined this agreement, which is usually called the Holy Alliance.

Meantime the king of Spain had sent army after army to South America to subdue the revolutionists. Finally one army refused to embark from Spain for that service, and tried instead to bring about a revolution at home. In this crisis, the Spanish king begged help from the Holy Alliance and found them ready. A French army was sent to help him crush the movement for freedom in Spain, and the Alliance promised also to help restore Spanish America to him.

England Opposes the Holy Alliance. — England was the only powerful European country that had refused to join the Holy Alliance. Part, at least, of the English people did have something to say about their government, and they had no intention of helping despotic rulers keep down the people in other countries. Like the United States, too, England had already “recognized” the old Spanish colonies as independent nations, and *her* interests and sympathies, like ours, were on the side of their independence. *The English government now suggested that the United States and England should act together to keep the Holy Alliance from interfering in South America.*

America Puts Forth the Monroe Doctrine. — The American President was *James Monroe*, who had succeeded Madison in 1817. Jefferson advised Monroe to accept this British invitation; but the President and his great Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams (son of John Adams); decided finally that it was better for the United States to act *alone*, without joining England. Adams, especially, looked forward to a day when there might be a great league of American nations, of which the United States, as the oldest and

strongest, would be the leader. He was glad to have Great Britain tell the Holy Alliance that her navy would resist any attack upon the South American republics; but he thought it would be more dignified for the United States to take *her* action by herself. So Adams and Monroe together wrote a message on this matter to Congress (December 2, 1823).

The first part of the message was a notice to the world that *no part of the American continent was any longer open to European colonization*. Other passages warned the Holy Alliance that *any attempt by them to interfere with any American country whose independence we had recognized would be considered by us as a hostile act*. The reason given for this position was that "the political system of the allied powers was essentially different from that of America."

What is meant by "the political systems" of Europe and of America? How were they "essentially different" in 1823? Would that be true to-day? What country was especially aimed at in the *first* part of the message? The document also stated that we would not interfere "with the *existing* colonies of any European power." What powers then had colonies in America?

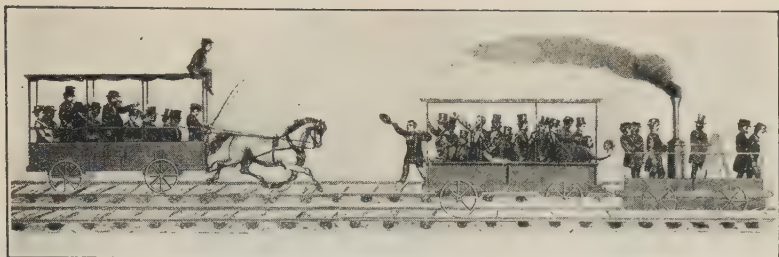
The general idea of this "Monroe Doctrine" was (1) that we did not mean to meddle in the affairs of the Old World; but (2) that we were unwilling to have Europeans meddle in the affairs of the independent nations of America; and (3) that, as the oldest American republic, we would protect our weaker neighbors against any such interference.

The message had an effect at once. The Holy Alliance gave up the expedition against Spanish America, and Russia agreed to take the line of 54° 40' for her Alaska boundary. But the most important results of the Monroe Doctrine have been felt in *later* years. Everyone recognizes it as part of our foreign policy; and as you read American history, you will find that we have applied it many times.

IV. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW FORWARD

The War of 1812 is often called our "Second War for Independence." It was followed by an outburst of patriotic pride throughout the United States. It seemed a great thing then that our little nation had held its own against mighty England. The disloyal Federalist leaders dropped out of sight. For a time the Republican party of Jefferson and Madison (the old "Democratic-Republican" party; p. 230) became the *only* party. Monroe (p. 266) was twice elected President, with almost no opposition.

One result of the new national self-trust was the Monroe Doctrine — the warning to Europe to keep hands off the American continents. Another result was that our people were glad to have the government do many things it had never done before. They were proud to have a strong government. The Republicans adopted "broad construction", and passed many laws which a few years before they would have considered unconstitutional. (Thus, in 1816, they set up a new national bank, such as Jefferson had strongly opposed.) The new pride in America led, too, to the writing of books on American subjects and the beginning of a real American literature. These results will show more plainly in the next three chapters.



A RACE ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD (p. 301), August 28, 1830, between one of the older horse cars and Peter Cooper's new locomotive, *Tom Thumb*, imported from England. The locomotive passed the horse, reaching a speed of 18 miles an hour; but it broke down, and the horse won.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A *revolution* is a complete change in methods of doing things. The close of the eighteenth century was a period of revolutions. The *American Revolution* had brought about a change in government for the American colonies. The *French Revolution* had changed the lives of millions of oppressed peasants in Europe. At the same time another revolution was slowly taking place — a change in the ways men did their work. This is called the *Industrial Revolution*.

The Industrial Revolution was more far-reaching than either American Revolution or French Revolution. It transformed a world of handworkers into a world run by machines. It so increased the quantities of goods that could be produced that millions were able to live where only thousands could live before. It increased tremendously the comforts of life. But at the same time it brought the world face to face with a host of new problems which we are still struggling to solve.

I. MEN LEARN TO MANUFACTURE BY MACHINERY

For thousands of years men had lived and worked in much the same simple way. Then in the eighteenth century two great changes occurred. In the first place *machines* were invented, by the use of which articles could be produced much more rapidly than by human hands and the simple tools of

the past. In the second place, men learned to use *steam power* to work these machines. With this *steam-driven machinery*, one man was soon able to do work that it had taken hundreds, or even thousands, to do with the old *hand-tools*.

First came changes in methods of spinning and weaving—for the revolution started in England, where the chief industry was cloth-making. In the earliest days all spinning had been done by twisting the woolen fiber into a thread with the fingers, and winding it by hand on a spindle. The spinning wheel, which seems so antiquated to us, had been a tremendous improvement when it was invented, sometime after 1300. The thread could be spun much more rapidly and evenly; but still, of course, only one thread could be spun and wound on a spindle at a time.

This simple spinning wheel remained the best tool for its purpose for nearly five hundred years. Then in 1764, a poor English weaver invented a machine with *eight spindles* that could spin eight threads at once. This machine he named a “jenny,” for his wife. Very soon, equally great improvements were made in the *looms* that weave thread into cloth.

The next need was a better power than hand power; and in a few years an English weaver invented a way to drive spinning machinery *by water power*, so that one spinner could spin *two hundred threads* at one time. Then a few years later *James Watt* invented a *steam engine*, which furnished even better power than water for driving machines. To-day it is not uncommon for one machine to spin as many as 12,000 threads at once. (See picture on p. 282.)

The improvements in making cloth spread rapidly to other kinds of manufacture; and soon many things which for thousands of years men had made laboriously by hand, were produced by machinery in vastly less time and much larger quantities. England became the great manufacturing nation of the globe. She furnished clothing, carpets, hard-

ware, china, glass, knives, tools, to the other countries of the world, and so added greatly to her wealth.

The Industrial Revolution next reached America. England was unwilling to have other people learn to use her inventions, and forbade any machine or any plan for one to be taken out of the country. But Americans did not wish to depend on England for manufactures. So American manufacturers began advertising for skilled workmen from England to help them set up machinery of their own. In 1789, the very year the new government was started, Samuel Slater came to America, in answer to one of these advertisements. He had only his *memory* of the English machines to work from. He was "obliged to draw the plans; direct the mechanics who fashioned the parts; supervise the construction of the factory and the regulation of the water-power; and finally instruct the workmen how to operate the machinery." But he did all this so well that it was not long before

he had a woolen mill working successfully at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. This mill was long known as "The Old Factory."

In the same year that the "Old Factory" was started, Congress passed the first Patent Act. This law gave an inventor exclusive rights to his inventions for fourteen years, so that no one could use them without paying for doing so. In the next fifty years many remarkable inventions were patented, but disputes often arose as to who had really originated the ideas. So in 1836 a *Patent Office* was established to examine each invention in order to see that the patent really went to the right man.



SLATER'S "OLD FACTORY" IN 1845.

One of our earliest patents was for Eli Whitney's *cotton gin*. If you have seen cotton as it grows, you have noticed how the soft fibers bursting from the boll have tiny seeds tightly attached to them. These seeds have to be taken out, before the fiber is fit to spin. It was slow work separating the seeds from the fiber *by hand*; and so cotton cloth was very expensive and much less commonly used than either wool or linen.

But in 1793 a young New Englander, Eli Whitney, graduated from Yale College and went South to teach. He traveled with the family of General Greene, famous in the Revolution; and was invited to spend some days at the Greene plantation in Georgia before going to take up his school. There he heard other guests discussing the difficulty of separating the cottonseed from the fiber. They "agreed," he wrote his father, "that if a machine be invented which would clean the cotton with expedition, it would be a great thing both to the Country and to the inventor."

The young Northerner had always been interested in tools and mechanical devices; and he now started to make experiments in a room which Mrs. Greene furnished him for the purpose. In ten days he had perfected a model which, he wrote his father, "may be turned by water or with a horse, with the greatest ease; and one man and a horse will do more than fifty men with the old machines." It was not long before cotton gins run by steam were able to clean as much cotton in a day as *five hundred* men by the old method.

No other invention has had so much influence in our history. It had hardly paid to raise cotton before; but now every planter in the South began to grow it. In 1790 we had only 200,000 pounds to export, but ten years later we exported a hundred times that much. The South boasted, "Cotton is king," and lost interest in other crops. The world changed suddenly from the use of linen and woollen goods to cotton. Says Mr. Channing (*History*, V, 407):

“ People left off wearing garments that had been handed down by elder brothers and sisters, and from fathers and mothers, and clad themselves in clothing made of cheap cotton fiber instead of the expensive, though longer wearing, flax and wool. Families laid aside their linen sheets for those of cotton; and the sailing ships of the world — with the exception of the men-of-war — ceased the use of linen ruck in favor of cotton sailing cloth. Whole races of mankind and womankind, who before had been innocent of clothing, now attired themselves in yard upon yard of cotton cloth.”

The new demand for cotton fixed slavery upon the South. Many Southerners had hoped that slavery would gradually pass away there as it had in the North. But now the South began to preach that slavery was a good thing for both whites and blacks, and that to criticise it was wicked. Everywhere the work in the cotton fields was done by gangs of negro slaves driven by white overseers, and there were not enough slaves to plant and pick the enlarged and paying cotton crops.

II. TARIFFS PROTECT THE NEW MANUFACTURES

As in England, so now in America, the new methods were soon applied to other articles besides cotton cloth. Iron and steel mills were erected, and factories of all kinds sprang up. But the cost of building expensive machines made the price of articles produced in America much higher than that of the same articles brought all the way from England, where factories had been established long before and where workmen received lower wages than in America. **So American factory owners and workmen begged Congress to lay a *protective tariff* on such goods from abroad.**

A tariff is a tax on goods imported into the country. Sometimes this tax is *for revenue only* — that is, to bring money into the treasury. In that case it is usually laid on goods that

cannot be raised in the country, and on luxuries, as on coffee or tea. Such a tax is called *indirect* (p. 227).

A *protective tariff*, on the other hand, is usually a much higher tax, and is laid on goods that *can* be produced in the country, as (with us) on woolen or iron goods. The importer who pays this high tax then has to charge so much for the goods from other countries that the American-made goods may be bought more cheaply and still bring a profit.

Alexander Hamilton, in one of his famous reports to Congress, had urged that American industries be protected in this way ; but the first tariffs passed were so low (p. 227) that they did not really "protect." **Then came the Embargo and the War of 1812.** For nearly ten years (1806–1815), we had to do without European manufactures almost entirely. During that time many wealthy merchants decided that it was more profitable to put their money into factories than into ships.

But *after the war*, great danger threatened these new manufactures. English warehouses were packed with goods that had been made during the war but for which there had then been no sale ; and our markets were now flooded with these goods at low prices. Our manufacturers could not afford to sell their goods so cheaply. Many of the new mills had to close down, and thousands of men were thrown out of work.

Petitions then poured in upon Congress, calling for a tariff high enough really to protect American manufactures. True, many people opposed the idea. Merchants were afraid it would ruin their trade with foreign countries ; and some of them argued that the Constitution did not give Congress power to lay taxes for the protection of manufactures, but only for revenue. But now the Democratic-Republicans had become willing to interpret the Constitution loosely, and **in 1816 they finally passed a protective tariff.**

Henry Clay was one of the chief advocates of the tariff of 1816, and is sometimes called the "Father of the protec-

tive system." Clay was from Kentucky, which did not pretend to be a manufacturing State. But he was sure that protection would benefit the entire country. He called it the "American system," because he believed that under it the Southern and Western farmers would be able to sell their raw materials (cotton, wool, flax, and hemp) at a good price to Eastern manufacturers, who in turn would furnish all the rest of the country with their manufactured goods. The manufacturing towns, too, he argued, would make a good market for the farmer's foodstuffs,—so that the whole United States would develop and prosper independently of Europe.

III. NEW PROBLEMS

The Industrial Revolution made a difference in the way the workers lived. Before the Revolution, most workers owned their tools and used them in their own homes. But the new machines were too costly for each worker to own, and besides they were far too big and heavy to be set up in private homes. Only wealthy men (*capitalists*) could afford to buy them, or to build the proper kind of factory to operate them in. The worker now had to leave his home and spend his days in a factory, working for the owner of the machine.

This meant that the worker's whole manner of life was changed. He could no longer plan his day to suit himself, working a part of the time in his garden, or on his farm, and a part of the day at his trade. When the great machines started, they waited for no one. All the workers must be ready to start at the same time, and keep working at the same pace until all stopped. From sunrise to sunset, or even from dawn to dark, was the rule.

So the Factory System caused cities to grow. The workers left their homes on the farms and in small villages, and came to live close to their work. All along the Appalachian foot-hills, from New Hampshire to New Jersey, many new

cities sprang up at the falls of the rivers, which at first furnished the power to turn the wheels of the factories. Later, other great cities grew where iron and coal could be obtained easily.

These cities had no street cars or busses by which the worker could get to his job. They were ugly with crowded tenements, huddled close about the factories. They had no proper water supply nor sewerage system. Garbage was thrown in the streets to rot. Neither the factories nor the tenements were supplied with fresh air or good light. Streets were poorly paved and almost unlighted. Neither the safety nor the health of the city dwellers was provided for by law, as in our modern towns.

Child Labor. — Since the worker had had to give up his farm and garden, he was now wholly dependent on the wages he could earn in the factory. Wages in America were better than in Europe, but they were very low. In order to live, the whole family often had to go to work. There were many jobs about a factory that children could do as well as men, and employers were glad to have such cheap labor. Travelers tell of seeing children as young as *four years old*, pale and aged before their time, shut up in American factories to work all day. This child labor was one of the greatest evils of the new system, and it still goes on in some of our States, though not in quite so serious a way.

Recall how the children had worked during colonial times. In what ways was work in factories worse for them than their old work had been?

The Factory System also led to bitter feeling between labor and capital. The man who owned the machines and factories, and paid the wages, was no longer one of the workers. He lived in a different part of the town, away from the smoke and dirt of the factory; and so he could not feel very keenly the dangers and discomforts in the life of his

"hands." Indeed, as he came to employ them by thousands, there was little possibility of his knowing them except as names on a payroll. They were little more to him than a part of a machine.

So the employer tried to get as much as he could from the worker, at as little cost as possible; and the worker found himself helpless. In order to earn a living he had to work in the factories, whether they were safe and sanitary or not. He had to work, too, for such hours as were demanded, and for such wages as his employer was willing to pay. Each worker *by himself* was powerless to change these conditions. It did no good for him to say he would work no longer unless things were made better. The employer would hire another man, and the worker and his family would starve.

It was not until the laborers began to combine in groups that they were strong enough to make things any better. These *groups* of workers came to be called **labor unions**. From 1800 to now, their chief objects have been to get shorter hours, higher wages, and better conditions under which to work. During the whole first half of the nineteenth century, indeed, the unions strove mainly for a *ten-hour-day*. That does not now seem much to ask, but it was a great gain over the dawn-to-dark day which was common then.

The chief method used by the unions to get what they wanted was the strike. That is, all the men in a union would refuse to work until their employers agreed to give them what they asked for. This was not a new method. In fact, we know of its being used by Egyptian workmen as far back in history as a thousand years before Christ. But now that the factory system employed men in such large groups, strikes became more common than ever before.

In many ways the workers suffer more in a strike than anyone else. If the strike lasts very long, they are in danger of starving. The capitalist's business suffers, of course, but he does not actually worry about where his next meal is

coming from. The workers, however, are often *willing* to suffer great hardships at the time, in the hope of improving conditions for the future — especially for their children.

Lately, too, we are beginning to understand that in the long run the chief sufferer is the general public — which finally foots all the bills. There is no doubt that strikes are a wasteful method of settling disputes, just as war is a wasteful method of settling quarrels between nations. And just as we hope in time to be able to find peaceful ways of settling these national quarrels, so we are now trying to find some better way of getting justice for the worker than for him to stop production.

But the workers won many *peaceful* victories. They established their own newspapers to make known the need of reforms, and held mass meetings and distributed circulars to arouse the interest of the public in their cause. Many of the things they agitated for we enjoy as matters of course to-day. It was the workers who began the great nineteenth-century movement for free public schools, as we have them. They agitated for an end to child labor. Even in that early day they urged that all men *and all women* should have the right to vote, regardless of their religion or the amount of their property. They were a chief influence in getting rid of imprisonment for debt, and in the abolition of slavery. A hundred years ago most people thought these progressive ideas of the labor unions very dangerous; but to-day it is hard to find anyone who does not approve them.

The factory worker of that early day **did have one aid** that he no longer has against unfair demands by an employer. That was the "**free land**," or at least the *cheap* land, of which there was still plenty — though it had become necessary to go hundreds of miles from the Eastern cities for it. If conditions in a factory were beyond endurance, an energetic worker *could* pack up his few belongings and set out with

his family (on foot perhaps) to make a new home amid the hardships of the distant frontier. To keep his workmen, therefore, the employer had to make some concessions.

IV. MACHINERY REACHES THE FARM AND HOME

Meantime, farm workers were moving, in larger and larger numbers, to the factories. How do you suppose they could be spared from the farm if the nation was to have food enough? **They couldn't have been spared if new machinery had not begun at last to come also to the farm** — where it broke up the soil and sowed and harvested the crop with much less human toil than had been necessary with the ancient tools (cut facing p. 281).

This change came later in farming than in manufacturing. *It was not till 1831 that Cyrus McCormick took out his first patent for a horse-power reaper.* With this machine, one man and a team of horses could cut as much grain in a day as twenty men with the old hand tools.

By 1840, the age of farm machinery was well under way. Before long, an automatic binder was combined with the reaper (to tie the grain into bundles as it was cut), so doing away with the slowest and most back-breaking toil of the old harvest field; and by 1900 twelve thousand patents had been given for improvements on the reaper. In 1800 an acre of wheat took six days' work during the season; but now a farmer does the work on that much wheat in about a third of one day.

And to feed the cities, more was necessary than to produce food. It had also to be *carried* from the farm to the city. Two hundred years ago, travelers complained bitterly that the roads near London (one tenth the size of the present London, but the only city of any size in all England then) were almost hopelessly blocked for miles by the vast herds of cattle and hogs and sheep and the flocks of ducks and geese

that were being driven in, on foot, for the next day's dinners. A city like the London of to-day could not possibly have had food enough brought it in that way. Even the cities of 1830 in America could not have continued to grow much more, if



WATER STREET, PHILADELPHIA, 1829, from a print now in the files of Pennsylvania Historical Society. This was one of the most stately streets in America in that day — before cheap steel made “skyscrapers” possible. See p. 430, and cuts opposite and after pp. 344, 430.

the revolution in *producing* goods had not been accompanied by an equally great revolution in *transporting* them. This indispensable part of the Industrial Revolution we shall take up in the next chapter.

Soon after 1830 this age of invention began also to make great changes in *the home*. *Cookstoves* began to take the place of fireplaces, and *matches* came into use for kindling fires — in place of flint and steel or of coals from a neighbor's hearth. A French chemist gave new variety to our tables for

much of the year by discovering how to preserve foods by *canning* them; and another Frenchman, Daguerre, gave us the beginning of *photography* with his “daguerreotypes.” In 1846 Elias Howe took out a patent for a *sewing machine*, — which did much to lighten the burden of the busy housewife. And the sufferings of mankind were tremendously lessened by the discovery that ether could be used as an *anesthetic*, to deaden the sense of pain during surgical operations. Brick factories, planing mills, factories for the production of knives, pens, horseshoes, and other commodities of steel and iron, were started. From 1790 to 1840, 11,908 patents



Above. — PITTSBURGH IN 1830. *Below.* — IN 1920. Notice that even in 1830 a pall of smoke hung over the rising city. The many-storied "skyscrapers" of the second view were not possible anywhere until after cheap ways were invented to make steel. See p. 430. (The second view, of course, shows only a small part of the modern city.)



Above. — HARVESTING IN 1831, with McCormick's first horse reaper. This was a great advance upon the old hand sickle, though the straw had to be raked up and tied by hand. The self-binder had not yet been invented.

Below. — HARVESTING TO-DAY. A Mogul Kerosene Tractor pulling two McCormick reapers and binders with mechanical shockers. Two men do many times as much work as six with the early reaper.

were issued in America. By 1860, that number had increased to 43,431.

Most of these inventions, and many others which went far to make life more comfortable and attractive, **were produced by Americans**, who were becoming noted throughout the world for their mechanical genius. Francis A. Walker says in his *Making of a Nation*, "There is only one nation in the world to the mass of whose population this form of genius can be attributed. That nation is our own. There are few Americans of American stock . . . who have not mechanical aptitude in a measure which elsewhere would make them marked men. '*The American invents as the Greek chiseled, as the Venetian painted, as the modern Italian sings.*'"

FURTHER READINGS

There are probably many books in your school library which contain interesting accounts of the great inventors and their inventions. Some of the best are Casson, *Romance of the Reaper* and *Romance of Iron and Steel*; Darrow, *The Boy's Own Book of Great Inventions*; Holland, *Historic Inventions*; Iles, *Leading American Inventors*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Nation*; Thompson, *Age of Invention*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

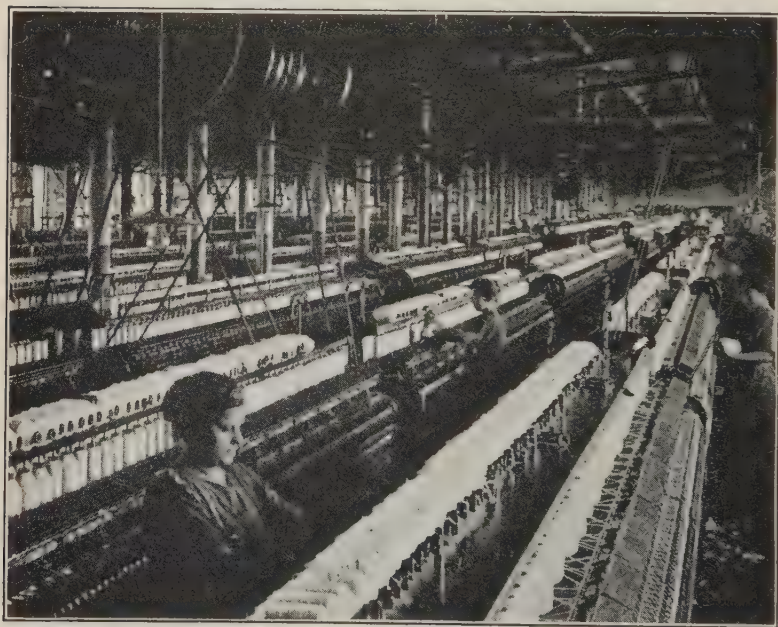
1. Goods can be produced more cheaply by factory labor than by hand labor. Write down the reasons for this.
2. Make a list of *labor-saving* devices in your home, and another list of the devices there for *increasing comfort*. How many of these have been invented since 1800? Since 1900?
3. Make a list of the things you eat and wear which are produced by machinery. Find out which ones come from a distance.
4. Explain all the ways you can think of in which the Industrial Revolution helped the growth of cities.
5. What new kinds of power have come into use since steam?

6. Start two new headings in your notebook: *Slavery* and *The Tariff*—and write down the important facts we have learned about them so far.

7. Make a list of the problems that arose when men began to do their work in factories. How many of these problems have been solved? How many partly solved?

8. Do you find any steps toward democracy in this chapter? Write a paragraph on the influence of free land on the growth of democracy, from colonial days on.

9. Draw graphs to show increased production after the Industrial Revolution began, according to statements in this chapter.



MODERN COTTON SPINNING (p. 270). A few girls care for many "spools."



BEGINNINGS OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1825.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NEW WEST AND ITS PROBLEMS: 1790-1840

I. THE EARLY PERIOD

The history of the United States has been called a picture of a mighty army ever moving westward for the conquest of forest and prairie. We have seen the beginnings of that conquest on the Atlantic coast, and have followed it step by step, up the rivers and streams, by canoe or by narrow trails, to the "back country"; then through passes in the mountains into the "Great Valley" between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies; and again, following the *westward* flowing rivers, into the still greater valley of the Mississippi basin, with its wooded lakes and streams, its green prairies, its hidden mines of lead, copper, iron, and coal.

In the twenty-five years between the first census and the close of the War of 1812, the United States had doubled not only its area but also its population, and the population west of the Alleghenies had grown from a little more than a hundred thousand to a million and a half. (Try to make graphs to show these facts, similar to the graph on pp. 206, 207.)

When our first treaty of peace with England was signed, even the hopeful Franklin had prophesied that it would take

us hundreds of years to occupy the territory east of the Mississippi. But when our second treaty of peace with England was signed, thirty-two years later, emigrants were already crossing the Mississippi into newly won territory beyond it — especially into the fertile lands along the Missouri (map facing p. 244). Indeed American *traders* had pressed on to the upper waters of that giant river, and were plying their business even beyond the Rockies on the shores of the Pacific.

New States. — Before 1815, five States had been added to the original thirteen, — Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1802), and Louisiana (1812). In the six years after 1815, a new State came in each year, — Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri.

The hardships to be endured by the pioneer, and his ways of meeting them, were much the same whether he crossed the Atlantic in the first *Mayflower* to take up the burden



A FRONTIER CABIN. — The woman in the doorway is calling for more wood; but the wood-splitter is absorbed in discussing the news in a paper that a neighbor has stopped to read to him.

of the frontier on the shores of Cape Cod, or whether more than a century and a half later he floated down the Ohio in the second *Mayflower* and hewed a living out of the forest on the shores of the Muskingum. Both sets of pioneers faced scarcity of food, hostile Indians, the rigors of a new climate. And

both were separated from their friends and kinsmen to the East by an almost impassable barrier — in the one case by the Atlantic Ocean, and in the other by the trackless waste of the Alleghenies.



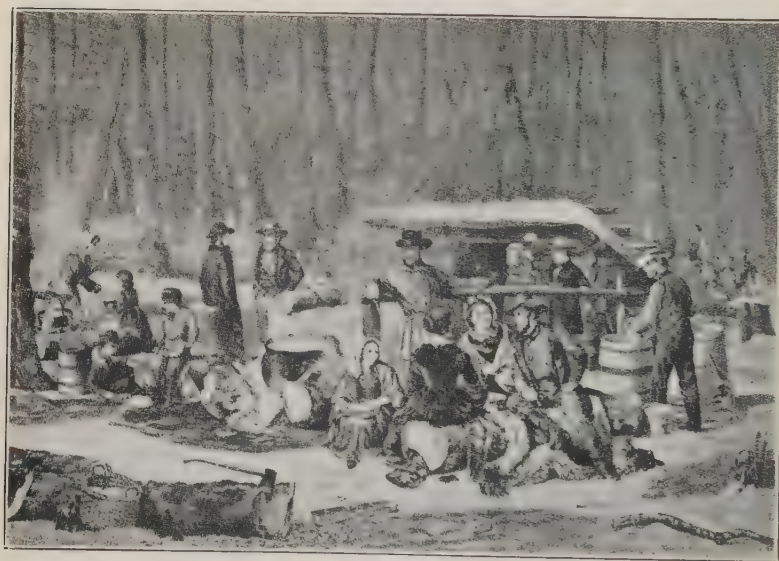
ASTORIA, a station in Oregon for the fur trade, founded by John Jacob Astor in 1811. From a woodcut of 1813.



CATALDO MISSION on the Cœur d'Alene River. — A recent photo of this early Catholic Mission to the Indians of the Oregon Country. The missionaries did not let the traders far outstrip them. See p. 343 for Protestant missions.



CINCINNATI IN 1812: From Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History*.



A MAPLE SUGAR CAMP IN EARLY OHIO. — Hard work and a jolly time!

In both cases the pioneer depended on his own strong hands — and those of his wife — to get a living from the country: to fell the forest for the planting of his crops; to build the cabin and make rude tables and benches from the logs; to hunt wild game, both for its meat and for its skins; to make clothing, dishes, soap, candles, brooms, and practically all the utensils of everyday use. In both cases the same qualities were called for — *courage, quick-wittedness, independence, perseverance.*

During the early history of the rapidly growing West, Congress had three chief problems to consider concerning it, — *the Indians, the sale of public lands, and the means of communication.*

1. DANGER FROM INDIANS IS REMOVED

England had ceded to us the land beyond the Alleghenies; but the original owners, wandering in its forests and over its prairies, had not been consulted. These Indians of the West were more dangerous foes than those of the seaboard had been, and they were armed now with the white man's guns. What Mr. McMaster says of the perils from Indians in Tennessee in the 1790's was true of most of the Western frontier for many years.

“The pioneer cabins stood in the midst of an almost unbroken wilderness, and the people dwelling in them lived in never-ending dread of the bullets and arrows of the savages. The dense forests of hardwood trees, the matted under-brush, the tall cane that covered the face of the earth for miles and miles in every direction, turned the whole country into a lurking-place and ambush for the most crafty and implacable of foes. No man dared to fell a tree, to plant an acre of corn, to pick a berry from a bush, to go to the nearest spring for water, or even to sit in the shade of his own cabin, but his gun and his powder-horn were ready beside him. During fourteen years the death-rate [from Indian raids] was as high as one human being in every ten days.”

In spite of such perils, hardy bands of frontiersmen had begun to settle Kentucky and Tennessee, as we have seen, while we were still under English rule. But our government would not open its lands north of the Ohio to settlement until it could get title from the Indians. This was not easy, for the Indians saw that the white advance was



YOUNG GIRLS SURPRISED BY INDIANS. This painting by Karl Bodmer was suggested by the story of Boone's daughter, who, with two companions, was carried off by Indians. (These captives were soon rescued.)

ruining their hunting grounds. In 1785 they did cede us a small part of the vast Northwest Territory; but even after that treaty, and the settlement at Marietta, many tribes continued hostile.

The region had finally to be won for settlement by the United States army. In 1791, indeed, General St. Clair even lost a large part of our small army there. President Washington then sent out *General Anthony Wayne*, who had won the nickname "Mad Anthony" by the daring with which he had stormed Stony Point on the Hudson during the Revolution. In 1794, Wayne defeated the Indians, and forced them to sign a new treaty agreeing to withdraw from

eastern Ohio. For nearly twenty years after this there was no great Indian uprising in the Northwest, and settlers crowded in upon the treaty lands.

Then in 1811 the great chief *Tecumthe* skillfully organized a powerful confederacy of tribes to make war on the advancing whites. General *Harrison*, leading the armed forces of the frontier, defeated them at *Tippecanoe*, while *Tecumthe* was away, trying to form another confederacy in the South. But the West rejoiced too soon. *Tecumthe* returned, gathered his forces once more, and made bloody war upon the border. In the War of 1812 he joined the British; but he was killed in the Battle of the Thames (p. 261) and his great confederacy fell to pieces.

In the Southwest, the Seminoles, Cherokees, and Creeks were constantly troubling the white settlements. Andrew Jackson was the great defender of this district. *The Battle of Horseshoe Bend* in the winter of 1814 (p. 262), in which he crushed the Southern Indians, was more important for American progress than his more famous victory at New Orleans in the next year. Treaties with the conquered Indians then opened western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to settlement.

After this the only other Indian risings of importance east of the Mississippi took place in the 1830's. In the Northwest came the Black Hawk War, in which the chief, Black Hawk, was defeated and taken prisoner. Then his people were removed beyond the Mississippi. A more serious outbreak of the Seminoles in the Southwest was not put down until 1842. (*Northwest* and *Southwest* both then meant land east of the Mississippi.)

In dealing with the Indians the United States had now adopted a system of *reservations*. When a tribe sold its ancient lands, it was removed to other lands set aside for it, where it was allowed freedom to carry on its own affairs. But as white settlement continued westward, the reservations

became smaller, until it was no longer possible for the Indian to live by his bow and arrow. Nor had he learned to make a living from a small piece of ground in the white man's way. So the reservation Indians became wards of the government, and depended upon it for food and clothing.

2. A GENEROUS LAND POLICY IS ADOPTED

After a piece of land had been purchased or conquered from the Indians, it had next to be explored and surveyed (p. 217), and then disposed of to settlers. No settler was supposed to take up lands in advance of the survey; but it was hard to hold back the adventurous pioneers. They pushed on into the wilderness—sometimes without even waiting for the Indian treaties. Many a border war was brought on in this way.

How the Western lands should be sold was a question on which the West and the East could not agree. The East favored opening lands slowly, and selling them for as high a price as possible, to get revenue for the government from them. The West wished to have the lands opened to settlement more rapidly. It wanted to keep the price of land cheap, to sell it in small pieces, and to protect the rights of actual settlers against the claims of Eastern speculators who did not intend to become settlers. The West finally got its way, but not until it had gained power in Congress by the admission of new States.

The first land laws permitted companies to buy huge tracts of millions of acres. No land was sold by the government in lots smaller than 640 acres. This kept off men who were eager to settle on small farms.

Then, in 1796, a law was passed which allowed a man to buy land in 160-acre lots for *not less* than two dollars an acre. (Land was sold at auction, and desirable pieces might bring much more.) The price might be paid in *four installments*. This seemed a good plan at first. But money

was scarce on the frontier, and the pioneers often found it impossible to scrape together enough cash to meet their payments. Both government and settlers lost money.

By 1820 the Western vote began to count, and a new law was then passed *lowering the minimum price* (that is, the lowest price that could be offered) to \$1.25 an acre, *and making it possible for a man to buy as little as 80 acres* at that rate. The land was all to be paid for at once. Thus for \$100 a man could have a farm. But land was still sold at auction, and poor pioneers who had "squatted" on farms and begun to make improvements, were often outbid by wealthy speculators. (Such speculators bought large quantities of desirable land, to hold it till roads and towns were built and it would bring better prices.)

In order to protect themselves against this abuse, the settlers began to band together in "Settlers' Associations." Each association chose a "Captain," who sat beside the auctioneer on the rude platform at the land sale, a list of settlers' claims in hand and revolver in belt, with his armed and stalwart associates in the company about. When a piece was put up on which a squatter had made improvements, the "Captain" spoke the word "Settled" — which was notice to outsiders that the settler must be allowed to bid it in *at the minimum price*. An eyewitness has described an incident at one of these sales near Chicago in the thirties.

The "Captain" was John Campbell, a black-browed Presbyterian Scot, standing six feet four. In one case an Eastern bidder failed to hear, or to respect, the gruff "Settled," and made a higher bid. With a bound from the platform, Campbell seized the offender by the waist, lifted him into the air, hurled him to the ground, and foot on the prostrate form and cocked revolver in hand, asked significantly, — "Did we hear you speak?" Protestations of misunderstanding and earnest disclaimers followed from the frightened man. Bending forward, Campbell set him, none too gently, on his feet, admonished him solemnly, "See that

it doesn't happen again"; and returned, in unruffled dignity, to the platform, where the government official had been quietly waiting. The land was then knocked down to the squatter at the minimum price.

Finally in 1841 the Preëemption Act was passed, giving each squatter the right to buy his clearing at the minimum rate of \$1.25, no matter how much some one else was willing to offer for it. This law was a great help to the settlers.

3. A REVOLUTION TAKES PLACE IN TRANSPORTATION

The cities of the East could not grow much further without better means of transportation, as we have seen. Better transportation was also the most pressing need of the Western settlers.

The unity of the country was long in danger from the mere lack of roads. *Washington* was one of the first to urge that the East and the West must be bound together by roads and canals. Without roads the West could not be defended against the Indians; it could not send its products to Eastern markets, nor get goods from the East; and with no connecting links, it was in danger of trying to become independent, or, in that day, of joining forces with England or Spain. (The West, you see, had water communication with both Canada and New Orleans.) *Washington* wrote, "Smooth the roads and make easy the way for them (new settlers), and see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them; and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter."

Jefferson and *Gallatin*, also, counseled a system of roads and waterways built by the government to develop the resources of the West and to bind the country together. And *Calhoun* in 1816 urged that government money should be used for that purpose. Said he: "We are . . . rapidly — I was about to say *fearfully* — growing. This is our pride

and our danger, our weakness and our strength. The extent of our country exposes us to the greatest of all calamities next to the loss of liberty — *disunion*. . . . Let us bind the country together with a perfect system of roads and canals. . . . Let us conquer space ! ”

There were three main routes to the West in 1800. (1) To the north, the *Genesee Trail* followed the Mohawk from Albany into western New York. (2) To the south, men crossed the mountains into Tennessee or Kentucky by way of the Cumberland Gap, through which wound the *Wilderness Road* (pp. 145, 148). (3) Between these two, several roads wound through the mountains, coming together at Pittsburgh on the *Ohio*, which formed a great natural highway to the West.

Then, within half a century, Washington's dream of a productive West pouring its wealth into the markets of the East, and Calhoun's vision of the conquest of space, were both realized — **because there came a revolution in the means of transportation** fully as great as the revolution in industry and agriculture. **Four main steps** in the change occurred in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century.

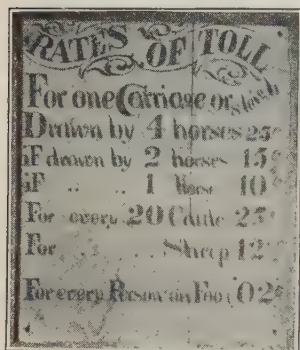


CALHOUN speaking in the Senate. — From a painting.

The First Advance Was the Building of Better Roads

Late in the eighteenth century in England, a Scotchman named *MacAdam* invented a very satisfactory way of building roads with a foundation of crushed rock. This allowed water to drain off and would stand the wear of heavy freight. Above this foundation was a covering of finely crushed rock, which was pressed and rolled to a smooth hard surface. We build many of our best roads on practically the same principle to-day, and call them *macadamized*.

The first macadamized road in this country was built just before 1800 (picture facing page 208) from Philadelphia to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Into Lancaster came long trains of heavily loaded packhorses from over the mountains, as well as boats down the Susquehanna River. The Lancaster Turnpike was built to provide a better means of carrying all these goods to Philadelphia, and of carrying back to Lancaster the manufactured goods that were wanted by the people of the back country.



A SIGN on the New York end of a bridge over the Susquehanna in early days. From *Earle's Stage Coach and Tavern Days* (Macmillan).

The turnpike cost nearly half a million dollars, which was a tremendous sum to spend on a road in those days. The money was raised not by the State in taxes, as it would be to-day, but by a stock company, which sold shares in the undertaking at thirty dollars a share. Of course people would not have been willing to buy stock unless they could get a return on their money. The State of Penn-

sylvania had given the Turnpike Company a *franchise*, which permitted them to build the road and then to charge *tolls* for its use. There were nine gates placed across the road, with keepers, who collected a toll from each traveler and

each wagon or coach. The amount of traffic was so great that the shareholders were soon getting fifteen per cent return on their money, and the merchants of Philadelphia were receiving a flood of profitable trade.

The success of the *Lancaster Pike* led to the organizing of companies all over the Eastern States for building more



THE FERRY BOAT.

This shows almost the only way a horse and wagon could cross deep streams until they were bridged. Note the ropes from the ends of the boat to the strong "cable." By lengthening or shortening one of these ropes, the ferryman could make the *current* carry him across. (Do you see why?) But he was sometimes away, and sometimes on the wrong side of the river for the impatient traveler. Nor was it always easy to control skittish horses when crossing.

such roads. Within ten years eighty-eight turnpike companies were formed, and more than three thousand miles of roads were built. Along their routes, bridges replaced the slow and dangerous ferries of the past; and more and better inns were built.

But in the West money was scarce and distances great. It was not until the War of 1812 that people in general realized the need of improving Western roads. The experiences of the war, however, made it clear. Says one historian :

"Up and down the great unbroken stretches between the Ohio and the Lakes moved the floundering supply trains in the vain effort to keep up with the armies, or to reach camps or forts in time

to avert starvation or disaster. Pack-horses waded knee-deep in mud; wagons were dragged through the mire up to their hubs; even empty vehicles sometimes became so imbedded that they had to be abandoned, the drivers being glad to get off with their horses alive. One of the tragedies of the war was the suffering of the troops while waiting for supplies of clothing, tents, medicines, and food, which were stuck in swamps."

Even before the war, a National Road had been planned to join East and West. As early as 1806 the government



THE NATIONAL ROAD.

had appropriated sums of money for the building of a road from Cumberland in Maryland (on the Potomac) to the Ohio. In doing this it had simply kept a pledge made four years before when Ohio was admitted to the Union. Congress had kept the title to the public land within the new State, but had promised Ohio to use a part of the money which came from the sale of such lands to pay for a road to connect it with the East.

The first few miles were built slowly. But after the War of 1812 the work went on more rapidly, and the road was soon open to *Wheeling* on the Ohio. At once, continuous streams of emigrants and wagons bearing loads of freight began to travel over it. One English emigrant to Illinois wrote in 1817, "The old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward."

It would be interesting to have a picture of that travel on the Cumberland Road a hundred years ago. Freight was carried in huge *Conestoga* wagons, built to carry from one

to two tons. (These wagons were painted blue underneath and red above; they curved upward at each end like a boat, and had high canvas tops which billowed like sails in the wind. They were drawn by four horses, or sometimes by six, wearing massive harness mounted with silver bells.) Rival lines of gayly painted coaches competed for the passenger trade; but most emigrants traveled in private vehicles — of many sorts, according to the means of the



A CONESTOGA WAGON. From Woodrow Wilson's *American People*, published by Harpers.

owner. Some even made their way toward the West on foot, carrying their few possessions or dragging them in a cart. But more frequently they boasted a canvas-covered wagon of their own, in which they could carry furniture, tools, implements, provisions, seed, poultry, and sometimes even a part of the family. With such a wagon they needed no other shelter at night; and meals could be cooked at the side of the road. Sometimes, however, the traveler to the West was delayed by meeting a herd of several hundred cattle, or a drove of four or five thousand hogs, on the way to eastern markets.

Congress planned to extend the road as far as the Mississippi; but when it had been built as far as *Vandalia*, then the capital of Illinois, people lost interest in it because of the coming of the railroad. Later, the government turned the road over to the States through which it ran. For a time

the States kept it up by charging tolls; and even to-day parts of the original road may be found, with its massive bridges that were built for all time. With the new methods of sending freight by motor truck, and of traveling by flivver, trailer, and the tourist camping ground, it is regaining much of its old importance.

Much of Ohio and Illinois lacked stone and gravel for roadbeds; and rains quickly turned the rich soil of a dirt road there into deep mud. So the early settlers invented a *plank road*. They turned the twelve-foot split logs of a corduroy road (p. 209) face up, so as to make an even surface, or split them first still further into four-inch planks. Heavy logs were then laid along the edges to hold down the ends of the planks. The dense forests supplied logs in plenty, close at hand; and some farmers hauled their crops to market in wagons over a hundred or even two hundred miles of such a road.

The Second Advance Came with the Steamboat

Even while the Cumberland Road was first being built, a great revolution was beginning in water travel. The old day of the flatboat, which could be floated *down stream*, but only with the greatest difficulty poled *up*, was passing in favor of a craft which puffed its way against the current almost as easily as with it.

But many men of genius had to suffer bitterly before the new method was accepted by the people. Just as twenty years ago most men laughed at the idea of ever being able to use airplanes for anything more useful than exhibition flights, so one hundred and twenty years ago men laughed at the idea of propelling a boat through the water by means of an engine run by steam. The early inventors failed because they could find no rich man with confidence in them to help pay for their experiments. *John Fitch* came nearest to success, and for a few years actually ran a steamboat

carrying passengers on the Delaware River. But no one was willing to back him in making the necessary repairs and improvements. Poor Fitch had other troubles also, and he finally ended his own life in despair in a Kentucky tavern, — leaving as his gloomy bequest a warning to all men to “beware of wives and steamboats.”

The first successful steamboat was the *Clermont*, in 1807. *Robert Fulton*, like several other of our inventors, started life as an artist. It was while he was studying art and painting portraits in Europe that he became seriously interested in the idea of a boat run by steam.

The young inventor was lucky in gaining the support of Robert R. Livingston, who was then in Paris negotiating the purchase of Louisiana (p. 243). With Livingston's money, Fulton was able to carry out experiments with engines and hulls. One engine, too large for his boat, sank it. Another proved too small, and could hardly move the heavy hull against the current. Finally, however, Fulton succeeded in getting the right combination; and his boat, jeered at as “Fulton's Folly” by the spectators, was launched at New York on the East River.

The 150-mile trip to Albany, against the current, was made in thirty-two hours. The epoch-making voyage was described by a passenger as follows:

“Past the towns and villages along the Hudson, the boat moved steadily, black smoke rolling from her stack. Pine wood was the fuel. During the night, the sparks pouring from her funnel, the clanking of her machinery,



THE CLERMONT on its trial trip.

and the splashing of the paddles frightened the animals in the woods and the occupants of the scattered houses along the banks.” One observer wrote, “Some imagined it to be a sea-monster, while others did not hesitate to express their belief that it was a sign of the approaching judgment.”

Soon the *Western* rivers were alive with steamboats. In 1811 the *New Orleans* was launched at Pittsburgh on the Ohio. The war put off all such advance; but in 1817 the steamer made **its first round trip to the city of its name on the Gulf**. And in 1825 an English traveler, Timothy Flint, writes of traveling 100 miles a day against the mighty Mississippi current. Another traveler tells of an old negro who saw one of the first steamboats plowing its way upstream: "By golly," shouted the old man, waving his cap, "de Mississippi's got her massa now!"

The years from 1830 to the Civil War were the great days of the river trade. Busy shipyards at St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Louisville launched the boats that made the steamboat tonnage of New Orleans in 1843 more than double that of New York City. Palatial passenger steamers, too, carried a human freight of merchants, tourists, and emigrants. Towns along the river grew like mushrooms. The whole face of the country was changed. In 1846, Francis Parkman, the historian, visited Pierre Chouteau, who eighty-two years before had been one of the founders of St. Louis, a little French trading post in the Spanish wilderness (p. 129). As Parkman sat on the old man's veranda and looked off over the busy city of his day, he was impressed with the changes that Chouteau had seen:

"Not all the magic of a dream, nor the enchantments of an Arabian tale, could outmatch the waking realities which were to rise upon the vision of Pierre Chouteau. Where, in his youth, he had climbed the woody bluff and looked abroad on prairies dotted with bison, the dim eyes of his old age saw the land darkened for many a furlong with the clustered roofs of the Western metropolis. For the silence of the wilderness he heard the clang and turmoil of human labor, the din of congregated thousands; and where the great river [then] rolled down through the forest in lonely grandeur, he [now] saw the waters lashed into foam beneath the prows of panting steamboats, flocking to the broad levee."

There was as great a variety of craft to be found on the river as of vehicles on the road. Flatboats were still used to carry freight *down* the rivers, especially freight that was to be sold along the way. For many of the flatboats were *floating stores*. Their owners would start perhaps from Pittsburgh, with a load of boots, hoes, plows, earthenware, and other manufactured articles, which they would trade to the farmers on the banks of the Ohio for cheese, bacon, pork, beef, lumber, mules, and grain. These, in turn, they would carry down the Mississippi to the plantations of the Southwest, which were too busy growing cotton to raise many other products. When the cargo was all sold, the boatmen would sell the boat for lumber, as in the old days; but they could now return by steamer instead of on foot.



A FLATBOAT ON THE TENNESSEE. — Abraham Lincoln once carried a cargo of goods from Illinois to New Orleans in such a boat.

The steamboat caused a revolution also in lake and ocean travel. In 1818, *Walk-in-the-Water* was launched on Lake Erie, and in 1819 a steamboat crossed the Atlantic, — using sails as well as steam. Soon the lake trade was building up new lake cities, like Cleveland, and later, Chicago, as the river trade built St. Louis and New Orleans.

The Steamboat Aroused a New Interest in Waterways and Many Canals Were Built

Soon after 1815, many appeals were made to Congress for help in building canals. Congress, led by Clay and Calhoun, believed that such help should be given; but President Monroe felt that the Constitution did not give Congress

power to make appropriations of money for such purposes, and stopped this movement by his veto.

Then men turned to the State governments; and **Governor DeWitt Clinton** persuaded **New York** to build the *Erie Canal*. This was a stupendous task for that day. The length of the great ditch, more than 350 miles, was greater than that of all the canals of England set end to end. It went through a wilderness country of swamps and forests pierced by few roads. The tools with which the work was done were at first nothing but picks and shovels and wheelbarrows; but, before the end of the eight years, American inventors devised new machinery — plows, scrapers, and windlasses — which made the enormous task possible. At last, in the autumn of 1825, a fleet of ships passed triumphantly from Lake Erie to New York harbor; and, at the celebration, the Governor of New York emptied into the Atlantic two kegs of the water of Lake Erie, — a symbol of the union of the Great Lakes and the ocean.

The cost of the canal proved to be much more than had been expected, — seven million dollars! That seemed at first an appalling amount; but the return in tolls was half a million dollars the first year, and a million the year after, while the prosperity of the State increased beyond the wildest dreams of Clinton himself.

The effect of the Erie canal on freight rates was astonishing. The cost of carrying a ton of freight from Buffalo to New York dropped almost at once from a hundred dollars to eight dollars. New York City became the chief distributing center not only between the East and Europe, but between the Northwest and the seaboard States. The governor of Georgia in 1827 complained that the people of Savannah found wheat from western New York cheaper than that from the western parts of their own State, since transportation by canal and sea cost only one fifth as much as by the roads of Georgia. In the next few



CELEBRATING THE OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL. — A painting by C. Y. Turner, now in the DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City. DeWitt Clinton is seen in the act of pouring the keg of Lake Erie water into the Atlantic at Sandy Hook (the opening of New York Harbor). Clinton was a great democratic leader. He was elected governor of New York in 1816, and reelected for four successive terms; but at the date of this celebration (in the fall of 1825) he had lost office, and a hostile legislature had even removed him from the Canal Commission. Even his political enemies, however, felt it necessary to make him the chief figure in celebrating the successful completion of the great scheme which had been due to his leadership. He has still greater claim to live in our memory because of his triumphant leadership in two other long struggles, — to broaden the right to vote, and to create a State system of free schools.



Keystone ©.

ERIE CANAL LOCKS AT WATERFORD, N. Y. — The boat in front of the "gate" in the background is waiting for the water to be raised high enough to float it to the higher level beyond. Many such "locks" were required to overcome the differences in elevation between Lake Erie and the Atlantic.

years the price of farm produce in western New York doubled, and the value of land trebled.

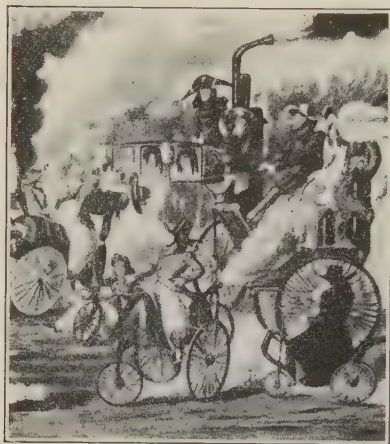
No other State was quite so favorably situated for canal building as New York. But the others did not wish to be outdone by the "Empire State," and **for the next ten years canal building was all the rage**. Pennsylvania even attempted a canal across the Appalachians, where, at one point, the boats had to be dragged over a mountain on an inclined plane and let down into the western part of the canal on the other side. Many short canals were built in the West; and some large ones. Chicago's growing trade was multiplied by a canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi.

But Water Travel Gave Place Again to Travel by
Land When the Fourth Great Change was Brought
about by the Invention of the Steam Locomotive

The success of the steamboat had given new courage to inventors who had been working on the idea of a locomotive engine that could move itself *along the ground* and drag wagons or coaches after it. Many of these experimenters had approached very near success; but, like the early inventors of the steamboat, they had been unable to get anyone to believe in their plans. *Oliver Evans* of Delaware had succeeded in making a "horseless wagon" which propelled itself through the streets of Philadelphia, to the amazement of all beholders. But it remained for *George Stephenson*, an English engineer, to gain the first real success with the exhibition of his locomotive *The Rocket* in 1829.

American engineers were then encouraged to go on with their efforts; and in 1830-1831 three locomotives went into service, — *Tom Thumb* on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, *Best Friend* in South Carolina, and the *DeWitt Clinton* on the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad. (These

railroads had already been built for the use of stage coaches to be drawn by horses or mules. See p. 269.) So the dream of Oliver Evans came true. Twenty years earlier he had written :



This old cartoon of 1828 is a prophecy of the coming traffic difficulties. Prophet as the artist was, he did not foresee any power except steam, besides man power.

"The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines from one city to another almost as fast as birds fly — fifteen miles an hour. Passing through the air with such velocity — changing the scenes in such rapid succession — will be the most exhilarating delightful exercise. A carriage will set out from Washington in the morning, and the passengers will breakfast at Baltimore, dine in Philadelphia, and sup at New York the same day.

"To accomplish this, two sets of railways will be laid, made of wood or iron, on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel ; the passengers will sleep in these stages as comfortably as they do now in steam stage-boats."

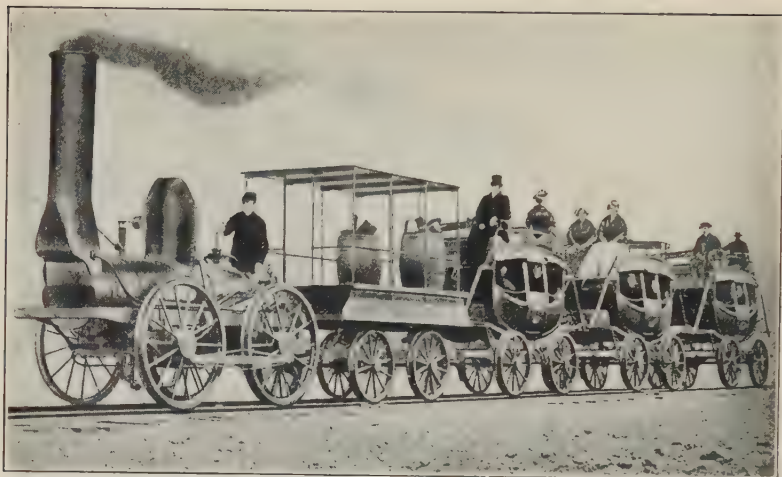
Early Railroad Travel. — But this stage of perfection was not reached all at once. At first the rails were of wood, covered with strips of iron. These curled up at the ends and caused a frightful jolting and many accidents. The first trains, too, differed decidedly from ours to-day. The "coaches" were built like the old stage-coaches that had been drawn by horses. Many of them had seats on top, as the old coaches had, but while it was "exhilarating," as Evans had prophesied, to view the passing landscape from that position, it was also dangerous. The passengers had to carry umbrellas for protection against the sparks from the



THE WATERLOO INN, near Baltimore, on the road to Washington, in 1826.



A PENNSYLVANIA CANAL, about 1830. The rope by which the two horses are drawing the second boat shows only faintly. The horses attached to the front boat are around the bend, and so out of sight.



Above. — THE "DEWITT CLINTON," the first steam locomotive to run in New York State. Its first trip was made August 9, 1831, with a speed that at no time was above 15 miles an hour. Note the likeness of the "coaches" to the horse vehicles of the time. The barrels behind the engineer carried water, to put out fires from the sparks.

Below. — A MODERN ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and Puget Sound Road, crossing the "Continental Divide" in Montana. This engine weighs 282 tons, and can haul six and a half million pounds of freight up a stiff grade at 16 miles an hour, or, geared for high speed, can pull a passenger train, like the one here pictured, at a mile a minute on ordinary levels.

engine, which were continually setting fire to their clothes. John Quincy Adams took his first railroad journey in 1833, and recorded the "astonishing" speed of 16 miles in 50 minutes; but he added, "We had flakes of fire floating about us in the cars the whole time."

But it was not long before many improvements appeared. The locomotive itself was greatly changed. Better rails, better coaches, better brakes were invented, and travelers rode more comfortably, more swiftly, and more safely. By 1840 more than 3000 miles of railroad were in use.

So by 1830 the "Age of Steam" had started in transportation as well as in manufacturing. Startling as the discoveries and inventions since then have been, they can hardly equal those of the period we have just been describing. Later inventors were like the men who followed Columbus — the path had been pointed out to them. The first steps in the "Conquest of Space" had been taken.

II. THE CHARACTER OF THE WEST IN 1830

The removal of Indian danger, the more generous land policy after 1820, and especially the early changes in transportation, had **tremendous influence on the growth of the West.** As each new piece of land was bought from the Indians, and surveyed and opened for settlement, the day of the opening found crowds of emigrants camped along the line, waiting for daylight to be able to rush in and secure a fertile tract. For days, in front of the land offices, stood long lines of men impatiently waiting their turn to file claims to the land they had chosen. This was the time when the phrase "doing a land-office business" started. Between 1800 and 1830 the population of the West grew from one tenth of the entire population to one third. Indiana jumped from 24,000 people to 147,000 in the ten years from 1810 to 1820; and Ohio in 1830 had reached a million.

But the West still remained a *farming* section, with few cities. Chicago in 1830 was still little more than a fur-trading station (picture facing p. 358). Cincinnati, mistress of the navigation of the Ohio, was "Queen City of the West," with 25,000 people. St. Louis had only 6000. The rest of the people lived in villages or on farms.

From every part of the older America and from the countries of Europe came settlers to the New West. Men came from the small stony farms of the East to secure better lands in the fertile Mississippi valley, where they could get enough to leave good farms to their children.

"Hard times" in the East had followed the War of 1812 (especially in 1819-1820), and lack of work added to the numbers of those that went West. Then, when business grew better again, Eastern manufacturers complained that the rush to Ohio made labor scarce and wages high. They even tried to discourage emigration by publishing pamphlets describing the hardships of a pioneer life. But the desire for adventure, and for better opportunities to make a living, was stronger than any warning of difficulties ahead, and the "Ohio fever" became an epidemic.

Of all the "Mother" States, *Virginia* held first place until after 1825 both for the Northwest and for the Southwest. Her sons left the worn-out tobacco lands of their native State, and crossing into Kentucky, moved northward into the corn lands of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, or else southward into the new cotton fields of Alabama and Mississippi. Then, *after* 1825, the sons and daughters of New England, in larger and larger numbers, began to seek homes in the Northwest by the new route of the Erie Canal and lake steamboats. Southern Illinois was settled from Kentucky; Northern Illinois, from New England.

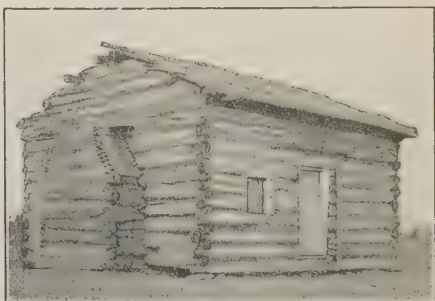
The demand for cotton had given the *Southwest* a growth rapid even for those times of expansion. As soon as Jackson

had subdued the Indians there, the emigration around the southern end of the Appalachians began. In no part of the United States were fortunes being made as fast as in the "Black Belt" of the lower South.

And here was seen quite a different emigration from that to the Northwest. Here came the aristocratic planters in their smart family carriages, attended by servants and followed by trains of slaves, to take up huge plantations and to form the ruling class in the new South, as they had been in the old.

Two famous examples of the southern and northern emigration through Kentucky are the families of *Jefferson Davis* and of *Abraham Lincoln*.

The two boys were born near each other in Kentucky. Davis' family moved south and became wealthy planters of the cotton belt in Mississippi. Lincoln's father rafted his motherless family across the Ohio into Indiana, where they built themselves a one-



LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE. — The nation has now inclosed this building by a beautiful marble canopy.

room cabin without floor or window. Another move took them still further westward to Illinois, where Abraham, after clearing a piece of land for his father, set up for himself. He had had little chance for schooling, but had taught himself from the few books he could lay his hands on. He once walked six miles and back, after a hard day's work, to borrow an English grammar. He picked up a living at whatever came to hand — farmed, worked a flatboat to New Orleans, and clerked in a country store, winning a

reputation for honesty in all his undertakings. He found time at last to study law, and then went into politics. Jefferson Davis, the aristocratic planter, meantime had got into politics by an easier route; and the two former neighbors were to be opponents in that field later.

You must remember that, in 1830, people still thought of Southwest and Northwest as parts of the *West*, not as parts of South and North. There were still *three* sections, not two. East of the Appalachians, Mason and Dixon's line (p. 108) separated *North* from *South*. But beyond the mountains, all was one section — the *West*. And different as they were in many ways, Davis and Lincoln were more like each other than they were like Webster or Calhoun.

The new West of the 1830's had developed a new kind of Americans — such men as were considered typical of America for the next fifty years: tall, gaunt, adventurous and resolute, of masterful temper, daunted by no emergency, impatient of authority, but with a high idealism. The West believed in the worth of the common man. It had become "the most American part of America."

European travelers and critics made fun of the American habit of looking to the future. They did not see the amazing spectacle spread before their eyes of a nation in the making: occupying and subduing a rebellious continent; felling forests, plowing prairies, clearing rivers, hewing out roads; founding farms and towns and commonwealths; solving grave problems, and working out on a gigantic scale new progressive experiments in government. "You can't write books," scoffed the visitor. "We're busy just now!" shouted the West carelessly over its shoulder, "but just wait till we get this bridge built, these prairies farmed, that new constitution framed."

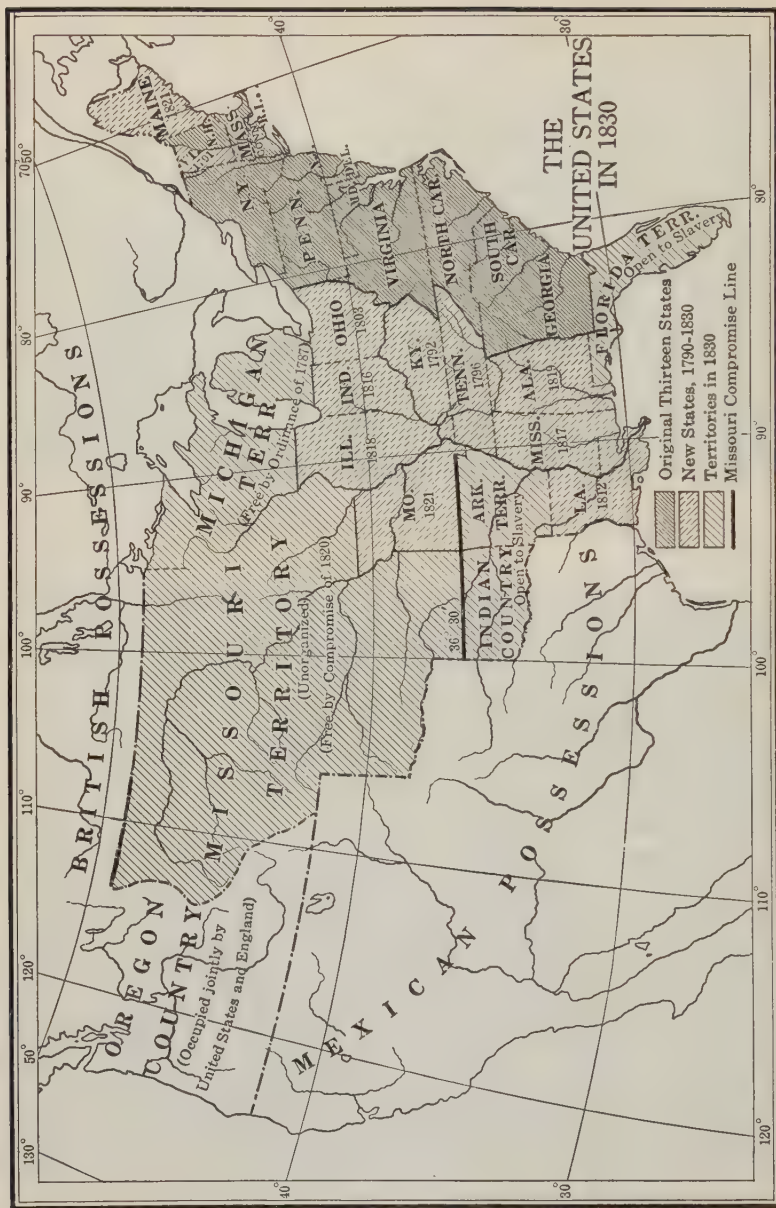
A famous English critic wrote in 1820: "Who, in the



A TRADERS' STOCKADE IN THE NORTHWEST (Ft. Mackenzie), August 28, 1833, with a battle raging between two Indian tribes that had come to trade. — A painting by Karl Bodmer.



STUMP SPEAKING ON THE FRONTIER (Missouri) IN THE THIRTIES. Whole families traveled horseback or in wagons a long day's journey to hear public questions discussed by favorite orators.



four quarters of the globe, reads an American book? Or looks at an American painting or statue? . . . Who drinks out of American glasses? . . . or sleeps in American blankets?" And another critic exclaimed: "Others claim honor because of things done by a long line of *ancestors*: an American glories in the achievements of a distant *posterity*. . . . Others appeal to history; an American appeals to prophecy. . . . If a traveler complains of the inns, and hints a dislike for sleeping four in a bed, he is told to wait a hundred years and see the superiority of American inns *then* over the British. If Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, are mentioned, he is told again, 'Wait till we have cleared our land, till we have idle time; *wait till 1900*, and then see how much nobler our poets and profounder our philosophers and longer our telescopes, than any your decrepit old hemisphere will produce.' "

It did not occur to the critic that "in 1900" this might not sound so amusing. In our more democratic age Englishmen may feel with us that there is quite as much sense in taking pride in descendants, whom we shall have a share in fashioning, as in ancestors, who have only fashioned *us*. But it was long before Americans forgave the insolent criticism of 1830, — not, indeed, till long after England was generously willing to admit that she had been wrong.

III. THE SLAVERY PROBLEM

Should Slavery Spread into the New West? The First Conflict
over this Question Was Settled by the Missouri
Compromise of 1820

In spite of the differences between East and West, turnpike, canal, steamboat, and locomotive were slowly conquering the natural barriers and making the country a home for one nation. **But the other line of division — between North and South — was steadily growing more**

pronounced. This division was due in part to **differences in soil and climate**, but still more to a difference in the kind of labor. Cotton-raising, big plantations, and *slavery* were the chief characteristics of the lower South; small farms, manufacturing, town-building, and *free labor* marked the growth of the North. So the contradictory feelings of national patriotism and sectional jealousy were developing side by side.

The line between slave and free States began with the southern boundary of Pennsylvania (the old Mason and Dixon Line), and continued along the Ohio River. (What law forbade slavery north of the Ohio?) Seven of the original thirteen States (all north of Maryland and Delaware) had abolished slavery soon after the Revolution, and the other six had kept slavery. As new States had been admitted, *this balance had been carefully preserved*. Vermont and Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, had been admitted; then Louisiana in 1811 made the numbers exactly even. After that, Indiana and Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama kept up the equality. *The number of senators from North and South were thus the same*. But by 1820 it became plain that the Northern States were growing much faster in population than the Southern, and in that year *the North had a fourth more members in the House of Representatives* than the South had. (How could that be when North and South had the same number of States?)

So far there had been no open break between the sections. But in 1819, Missouri asked to be admitted as a slave State. **Then Congress debated hotly whether slavery should be allowed to extend west of the Mississippi.**

No law about slavery in the Louisiana Purchase had ever been made. The old French settlers there had owned slaves, and Louisiana had already come in as a slave State. Many of the emigrants to Missouri were slaveholders from Ken-

tucky and other southern States. Such men had taken up large tracts of land to be worked by their slaves.

But Missouri was just across the river from free Illinois, and it was north of the line between slave and free States on the other side of the Mississippi. Moreover, to have Missouri come in with slaves would give the South an extra State. Still more serious, it would set an example for the spread of slavery throughout the whole Louisiana Territory.

Accordingly the Northern members of the House of Representatives opposed the request of Missouri, and the House refused to admit the State with slavery. The Senate, on the other hand, declared that Missouri ought to be admitted as a slave State, as the citizens of the Territory had requested.

So Missouri was not admitted for two years. One of the objections of the North was removed when Maine (since 1690 a part of Massachusetts) applied for admission as a separate State. **The second objection was removed by the Missouri Compromise of 1820.** *Missouri was admitted with slavery*, as the people of the State desired; but *the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' (the southern boundary of Missouri) was to be forever free.*

According to the compromise, *Arkansas* entered as a slave State in 1836; but *Michigan* came as a free State in 1837, and so for a time the old balance was preserved.

FURTHER READINGS

Many interesting details of pioneer life and travel are given in Brigham, *From Trail to Railway*; Earle, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*; Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce*; Iles, *Leading American Inventors*; Ogg, *Old Northwest*, and *Pioneer Days and Ways*; Southworth and Kramer, *Great American Cities*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; Thompson, *Age of Invention*; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Reread what was said about the West in chapters x and xiv, and study the maps facing pp. 191, 219, 244, 307. On an outline map show (1) the States added to the Union before 1840; (2) the line between slave and free territory after the Missouri Compromise; (3) the chief routes to the West through the Alleghenies.

2. In what ways did the War of 1812 hasten the settlement of the West?

3. Can you see why Mississippi was ready to enter the Union before Alabama, which is farther east?

4. What were "squatters"? Do you think their rights should have been protected? Why? Why did Congressmen from New England nearly always oppose laws which made it easier for men to take up land in the West? See if you can find one reason, at least, in chapter xviii.

5. In 1830 there were thirty-one natives of Connecticut in Congress, only five of whom represented Connecticut there. How could this be true?

6. In what ways are canals better than railroads for carrying freight? How are railroads better than canals? What *new* means of carrying freight have we found since 1840? Is it better to have several kinds of transportation, or should we develop just *one* kind, and discourage the others? Why?

7. Do *States* or *companies* build roads to-day? Which way do you think is better? What kinds of transportation companies have we? Who gives them their *franchises*?

8. What effect do you suppose the building of railroads had on the growth of New Orleans? Why?

9. Jefferson called the Missouri Compromise "an alarm bell which aroused the nation." Do you think he was right? Why?



JULIA WARD HOWE IN OLD AGE.

An early suffragist and the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

CHAPTER XX

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN IDEAS

The revolution in industry and transportation had brought great benefits. More goods were produced than before, and they were more easily carried to market. Articles which only a wealthy few could purchase before, came to be considered necessities and could be bought by nearly everyone. So far, this revolution added to the comfort and happiness of the world.

But these new conditions had also created new problems. We have already noticed some of them — the *long hours*, *poor wages*, *unsanitary conditions*, and worst of all the *labor of little children*. City life also created need for *sewerage*, *city water*, and *police* and *fire protection*. It is hard for us to understand that in 1830 these needs were *new* and had received almost no attention. Then also the demand for skilled labor was bringing increasing numbers

of immigrants from Europe, whose ignorance of America and American ways added still another problem.

About 1830 a great desire to do away with the evils that oppressed people's lives swept over the whole civilized world. In several European countries the people succeeded in overthrowing their despotic governments and in gaining some rights for themselves. Then in 1832 the *English Parliament passed the First Reform Bill*, giving many more Englishmen the right to vote. The reformed Parliament soon passed laws to shorten the working-day for women and young people, to stop the labor of little children in factories and mines, and to protect the health of all the workers by forcing factory owners to provide fresh air and good light in their factories. England and France freed the slaves in their colonies, and the new Spanish-American republics abolished slavery. Democracy and reform were in the air.

I. MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

**The United States Joined in this World Movement for
Reform. The First Step Was to Give More
People the Right to Vote**

In the original thirteen States, you remember, only taxpayers were allowed to vote, and, in some States, only men who owned land. **But the new States, admitted after 1789, were more democratic.** Nearly all of them adopted manhood suffrage (p. 219).

In the *older* States the factory workers now demanded the vote. Many of them had voted when they were land-owners living on their farms (p. 275), but had lost the right when they sold their farms and came to the city. They argued now that to be denied the suffrage was to be denied one of the chief principles of the Declaration of Independence — "Governments derive their just powers

from the consent of the governed." They urged also that the poor man needed the vote to protect himself and his family against unjust laws.

The property owners protested against these demands. They claimed that only the well-to-do had the training and intelligence to vote properly; that only property owners were enough interested in government to make wise laws for protection of property; and that to give the vote to all men would destroy orderly government.

But as one Western State after another was admitted to the Union with manhood suffrage, and still continued to prosper, the opposition seemed less and less reasonable. Many other people took up the demands of the workers. Between 1810 and 1830 Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York removed property qualifications for voting and for holding office, in spite of bitter opposition from the older leaders, as from John Adams in Massachusetts. In Virginia and North Carolina this opposition was strong enough to delay manhood suffrage till after 1850.

Women also were beginning to ask why they should not have the rights enjoyed by men. They could not vote. They could not go to college, nor enter any of the professions. Their own earnings belonged (by law) to their fathers or husbands.

In 1825 the Englishwoman, *Frances Wright*, demanded suffrage for women from a public platform in New York, but it was not until 1848 that the first *Woman's Rights Convention* was held — at Seneca Falls, New York. Many people were shocked; others were amused. All sorts of ridicule was heaped on the idea. Absurd cartoons were made of the speakers on women's rights. Newspapers made fun of the "Reign of Petticoats." Many of the leaders were insulted in the streets, and their meetings were broken up by mobs. But *Lucretia Mott*, *Elizabeth Cady*

Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and others of the ablest women in the country had now joined the movement.

Leading reformers and writers among the men also took up the cause. Emerson and Whittier worked for it, and Abraham Lincoln urged that all who carried the burdens of the Republic should share in its government, "not excluding the women." We have already seen that the labor unions, struggling to obtain the suffrage for their members, were also demanding that women should receive it (p. 278). **But** while "votes for men" were gained practically everywhere in the United States by 1850, "votes for women" did not become a fact till nearly a hundred years after the agitation began.

II. PUBLIC EDUCATION

Now that All Men Had Received the Vote, it Was More
Necessary than ever to Educate Them
to Use it Properly

Public Schools. — Nowadays all citizens are taxed to support schools, whether they have children or not. But in 1820 few people approved such an idea. The few schools of that day were supported mainly by tuition fees, and poor children had little chance to get much education. Some cities did have "charity schools" for those who could not pay tuition; but poor parents were often too proud to send their children to such schools.

Some of the founders of the Republic (like Jefferson) had seen that if the people were to rule they must be educated; and in the 1820's the new labor unions (p. 278) began to demand *as a right* "a good education for every child, furnished by the state." A little later Abraham Lincoln warmly defended this claim. Said he:

"The old general rule was that educated people did not perform manual labor. They managed to eat their bread, leaving the



A HARPER'S WEEKLY CARTOON OF AN EARLY SUFFRAGE MEETING. Men in charge of babies were regarded as especially witty features of all such cartoons; and the women's skirts are drawn immodestly short, according to ideas of that day. Some of the faces are caricatures of early suffragists.



FIFTY YEARS LATER. — A SUFFRAGE PARADE in New York City in 1913, celebrating recent victories for the cause (p. 490). Twelve thousand marchers were in line, led by prominent society women, and the sidewalks were crowded with exultant sympathizers.



MEMORIAL STATUE TO SUFFRAGE PIONEERS, erected in the Capitol in 1913:
Susan B. Anthony (center), *Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (left), *Lucretia Mott* (right).

EXTRACT FROM A "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE" ADOPTED BY THE
 FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION, AT SENECA
 FALLS, JULY 19, 1848

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness . . . Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it.

The history of mankind is the history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments . . .

He has denied her facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her . . .

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country . . . we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States . . .

toil of producing it to the uneducated. . . . But free labor says 'No.' As each man has one mouth to be fed and one pair of hands to furnish food, it was probably intended that that particular pair of hands should feed that particular mouth; that each head is the natural guardian, dictator, and protector of the hands and mouth, inseparably connected with it; and that being so, every head should be cultivated and improved by whatever will add to its capacity for performing its charge. In one word, *free labor insists on universal education.*"

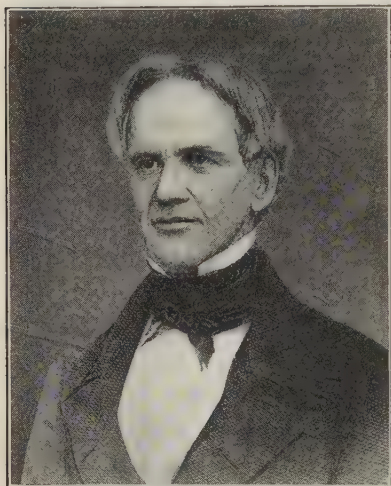
In the Northwestern States, **Section 16 of each township had been set aside for the support of public schools.** (Do you remember what law provided for this?) But unfortunately, though quite naturally, the new States were long too busy with other things to pay much attention to their schools, and much of their school land was wasted. Still the great law containing this land grant did give the Northwest from the first the *idea* at least of free common schools regulated by the people. In New York, after a long fight, DeWitt Clinton secured a State system of free schools; and other States gradually adopted the plan of supporting the common schools by public taxes.

What would be the value of a section of land in *your* township? What is the cost of keeping the common schools of your township? Would it be necessary to have some other means of paying for them besides the revenue from a section of land? How are your common schools supported?

What schools there were in the early 1800's greatly needed improvement. Most schoolhouses, even in the towns, had but one room, where children of all ages were put under one teacher. Little was taught except reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. There were very few textbooks, and very poor ones. Worst of all, the teachers had had no training. They were nearly all young fellows who were earning money

for a few weeks to help themselves on the way to something else — perhaps to the study of the law or of the ministry. Salaries were so poor that often the teacher had to eke out his scanty living by various odd jobs.

Massachusetts was the first State to make decided improvements. This was due to *Horace Mann*. Mann had



HORACE MANN, — educator, anti-slavery agitator, advocate of labor unions and of votes for all men and women.

been a poor boy in Franklin, Massachusetts, and for the most part he had educated himself in the library presented to the little town by Benjamin Franklin years before. He became a lawyer, went into politics, and was elected to the legislature. There he used all his influence to establish a *State Board of Education*, and later he accepted the position of Secretary of the Board. When his friends criticized him for giving up a good law practice in order to serve the people for the

small salary of \$1500 a year, he replied, — “I will be revenged on them: I will do them more than \$1500 worth of good.” And he did accomplish many reforms, chief among which was the establishing of the first *normal schools* in America for the training of teachers.

Mann’s reforms spread to other States. Everywhere better textbooks were written; new subjects, like history, geography, and music, were introduced; and higher ideals and better ways of teaching were adopted.

The Western States soon began to plan public *high schools* “to form a link between the common schools and

the universities." (For the universities, you remember, they had already received grants of land ; p. 218.) Indiana was the first to pass a law for high schools. Her constitution in 1816 declared it to be the duty of the legislature to establish " a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University, — wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

Other Western States followed this noble example ; but it took some time for their plans to become facts. In the East, *private academies* were far more common than public high schools, though both Boston and New York had started public high schools by 1825.

Meantime, small colleges were springing up everywhere. To these colleges, East and West, thronged not only the sons of the well-to-do, but also many " ambitious boys, bare-foot and in threadbare coats, not for four years of a good time, but with genuine passion to break into the fairy realm of knowledge ; and their hard-earned dimes that did not have to go for plain food went for books." The following story is not an unusual example.

" In 1846 a boy of eighteen started for Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois. By working as a farmhand (he harvested two weeks for an old Virgil and a Latin Dictionary), and by teaching school for a few months (and ' boarding round ') at eight dollars a month, he had saved up ten dollars. He walked first to Chicago, the nearest town, for supplies ; but the unaccustomed temptation of the display in a bookstore window lured him within, and most of his capital went for a few books which would seem old-fashioned, indeed, to the boys of to-day. The remaining cash bought only a pair of shoes and an Indian-blanket coat (with great stripes around the bottom). To save the precious shoes, he then *walked* the two hundred miles from his home to Galesburg barefoot. His first day there, he built a fence for the President's cow pasture, to earn money for textbooks, and found a place to work for his board through the college year. This youth became one of the notable builders of a Western commonwealth."

The education of girls was long neglected. At first the lowest common schools were the only ones open to them. "All a girl needs to know," it was said, "is to reckon how much she will have to spend to buy a peck of potatoes in case she becomes a widow."

But in 1814 *Mrs. Emma Willard* opened a "female seminary" in Vermont, and a few years later another in Troy, New York. In 1837, *Mary Lyon*, a graduate of Troy Seminary, founded *Mt. Holyoke College* in Massachusetts. For a long time the East depended wholly on such special schools for the higher education of women; but the West soon turned to coeducation. *Oberlin College* in Ohio opened its doors to women in 1833; and not long after, *Horace Mann*, who had become president of *Antioch College* in Ohio, invited women to attend that institution.



MARY LYON.

The new State universities, too, as they grew up in the Northwest, adapted this democratic plan. Still the movement was slow, and at the opening of the Civil War there were only a few colleges where women were received.

III. THE REVOLUTION IN THE COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS

Men have always been able to *communicate news and ideas* from place to place *faster* than they transport merchandise. In early times, such swift communication was by fire or smoke signals and by post riders. Then the steamboat and the railroad carried news and goods at almost equal speed. **But about the middle of the nineteenth century, communication again outran transportation.**

In 1844, Samuel F. B. Morse invented the electric telegraph. Like Fulton, Morse was artist as well as inventor. On the way home from studying in Europe, he heard some scientists discussing the fact that by means of a copper wire an electric current could be transmitted instantaneously. The idea at once flashed into his mind, "Why not send messages in that way?" He began immediately to experiment in sending messages by starting and stopping the electric current in accordance with a given code.



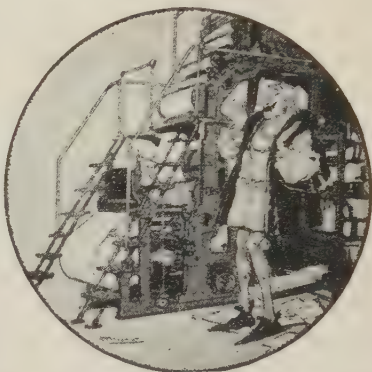
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

As usual, it was not so difficult to work out the idea as to find people willing to give attention to it. At times Morse was near starvation. For years, he and his friends besieged Congress for an appropriation to construct a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore. He was on the point of giving up in despair, when, in 1843, the bill was finally passed. On May 24, 1844, the first message was sent from Washington to Baltimore, — "What hath God wrought!"

Soon the telegraph brought other improvements in spreading ideas. Newspapers could now get more and fresher news, and grew accordingly. The demand for printing soon led to the invention of *steam roller presses*, so that several hundred thousand copies of a paper could be turned out in an hour. Cheaper ways of making paper, out of straw, were also discovered. In the 1830's the first penny daily had appeared, the *New York Sun*; and it was not long before every man, in a city at least, could have his daily paper.

The government made a rule that printed matter could

be carried cheaply, and some papers then won a nationwide circulation. The *New York Tribune*, founded by Horace Greeley in 1841, was read by many thousands of the



THESE ITALIAN CARTOONS picture the ghost of a printer of Caxton's day (cut after p. 24) visiting a modern printing shop, — amazed at the many trays of type and other new conveniences for typesetting (by hand), and then still more, in the second picture, by the steam-driven roller-press at its swift work. What would he have felt to-day to see the linotype machine that replaces hand typesetting!

farmers of the West. Until after 1860 it was perhaps the most important single force in America in forming public opinion.

IV. THE NEW AMERICAN LITERATURE

Before the War of 1812 America had had almost no important writers for the general reader, except Franklin. Colonial books had been mostly on religion; Revolutionary writers were interested only in politics. Most of the books read in America in the first years of the Republic were written in England.

But shortly after 1815 three writers appeared who wrote on American subjects and who can be called the founders of our literature. *Washington Irving* wrote sketches and essays that dealt with picturesque legends of the Hudson valley, such as "Rip Van Winkle" and "Legend of Sleepy

Hollow." He was the first American author to win fame in Europe. *James Fenimore Cooper* delighted the readers of his time with the famous stories of pioneer life known as the *Leatherstocking Tales*. He was the first writer to use the Indian in literature. An able teacher of American literature says: "His books are filled with the smell of the pines, the crackle of burning brush, the ripple of the waters of river and lake, and the brave deeds of hardy men." *William Cullen Bryant* was our first American poet. He was fond of simple American themes — as in "The Forest Hymn," "The Prairie," "The Fringed Gentian," "Robert of Lincoln," and "The Song of Marion's Men."

Bryant lived and wrote to the age of eighty-five. But **by 1830 other great names had appeared**: the poets Longfellow and Whittier, the essayist Emerson, the novelist Hawthorne, the historians Bancroft, Motley, and Prescott. Lowell, Holmes, and Poe — poets all three — were great as prose writers, too. Lowell and Holmes were essayists; and Poe wrote short-story "thrillers" that have never been surpassed.

Except Poe, all the authors named in the last paragraph took a leading part in the great reform movements of the time and lent their pens to the cause of democracy and freedom. You can never really understand the history of their period unless you know their best works. They delighted in American subjects and expressed the sturdy independence and democracy of America's pioneers. They gave lovely form to ideals of liberty and justice and the worth of man, and helped to fix those American ideals for the future.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, like Irving before him, did much to make us respect and love the poetry and culture of European lands; but after all, his subjects were mainly American, — "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," "Paul Revere's Ride," "Miles Standish." He is the poet of the young; and many of his poems, such as "Excelsior" and "The

Ladder of St. Augustine," have become household words. The noble lines, "Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State," gave comfort and inspiration to Lincoln's sad heart during the darkest days of the Civil War.

Oliver Wendell Holmes was a distinguished physician and an excellent man-of-affairs. Someone has said that the chief value of his prose was "to teach good manners to the somewhat crude America of his early days." He was more of a humorist than any other of the splendid company; but his "Chambered Nautilus" rises to the heights of pure beauty; and his verse could flame with patriotism, — as in his fiery protest against the government's plan to scrap "Old Ironsides," — in the stanzas beginning,

"Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!"

Nathaniel Hawthorne was a shy spirit, who loved to write about the stern Puritanism of earlier days. His "Grey Champion," "Maypole of Merry Mount," "Endicott and the Red Cross," "The Great Carbuncle," "The Great Stone Face," and other of his short stories, are no doubt known to all of you. His longer works belong to older students.

James Russell Lowell, too, you will read to better advantage, for the most part, when you are somewhat older. But, even if you have to "study" it a little, you ought to know one poem, "The Present Crisis," which speaks the feeling of brave and freedom-loving men of all times. You will enjoy, also, the satire of parts of the "Biglow Papers" when you come (a few pages further on in this volume) to read of the Mexican War. And you certainly should know two great passages in the "Commemoration Ode" written at the close of our Civil War, — the tribute to Lincoln and the closing lines, beginning,

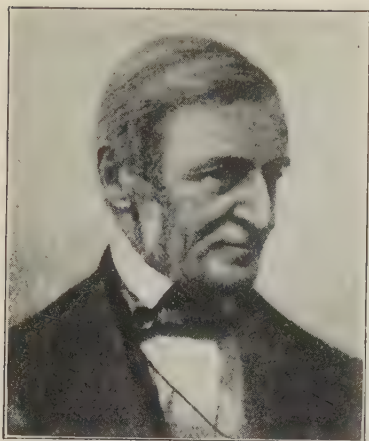
"O Beautiful, my Country! Ours once more!"

Ralph Waldo Emerson's address on "The American Scholar" in 1831 was called by Holmes "our intellectual



"OLD IRONSIDES." — Marshall's painting, suggested by Holmes' verse "Give her to the god of storms!"

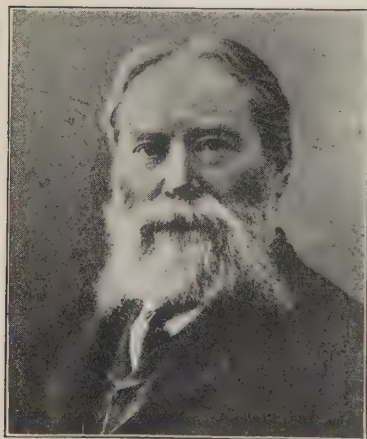
The poet's protest saved the ship; and now, nearly a century later, it is to be rebuilt out of gifts by school children,



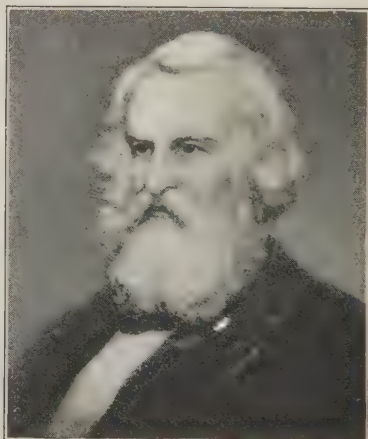
RALPH WALDO EMERSON



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT



JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL



HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW IN
1881. (Photo of the engraving by
Marshall.)

"We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; *we will speak our own minds.*"

— From Emerson's *The American Scholar*.

"I call upon you, you men, to obey your heart and be the nobility of this land. In every age of the world there has been a leading nation . . . whose eminent citizens were willing to stand for the interests of general justice and humanity. Which should be that nation but these States? Who should lead the leaders but the young American!"

— From Emerson's *The Young American*.

Declaration of Independence." Lowell said that old people complained of not being able to understand Emerson, but that his essays (like "Self Reliance" and "Heroism") rang forth "the sound of that trumpet the young soul longs for." Emerson taught "plain living and high thinking." His "Concord Hymn" and the "Boston Hymn" breathe the finest spirit of American freedom.

Perhaps the one writer who had the greatest effect on his time was the Quaker poet, *John Greenleaf Whittier*. The son of a poor farmer in the hills of Massachusetts, he grew up in the simple surroundings of a common New England farm. (His old home, with the dark rafters and the wide-mouthed fireplace, which he described in "Snowbound," has recently been restored as nearly as possible as it was in his boyhood.)

Though a Quaker, and therefore opposed to the use of violence, Whittier's whole being burned with indignation at a tale of injustice and glowed with enthusiasm at a deed of heroism. His "Anti-Slavery Songs" did much to rouse the imagination of an uninterested North against slavery. His pen, far mightier than any sword, was always used in defense of the oppressed.

V. THE WAVE OF REFORM AND THE ABOLITIONISTS

One reform helps another. So, in the thirties, universal education and a "newspaper in every home" helped to spread the ideas of reform, and universal suffrage helped to get many of them accomplished. *Schools for the deaf and blind* were established. Massachusetts founded the first *public hospital for the insane*, and *Dorothea Dix* spent her life persuading other States of the need of better homes for such unfortunates. The horrible *prisons of the early times were reformed*; and the stupid policy of *imprisonment for debt was finally abolished*. The *cruel punishments of the*

preceding century were done away with. The city of Philadelphia in 1835, and the national government in 1841, set an example to employers by adopting the *ten-hour-day* for all their employees (p. 277).

Many States passed laws *forbidding the hiring of children to work in factories* — a necessary step, of course, if education were to be universal. And in a little town in Connecticut *Elihu Burritt* started the first American society for *World Peace*.



MONUMENT TO ELIHU BURRITT in New Britain, Connecticut, bearing the inscription, "Peace and Universal Brotherhood."

The Prohibition movement also started in this period. Since colonial times drunkenness had been noted as the great American vice. Everybody drank — workingmen, merchants, doctors, public men, ministers,

even women and children. Needless disease, poverty, and crime, were due to this use of alcohol. In 1824 the first temperance society was formed in Boston. By 1830 a thousand such societies had been formed, and speakers were talking the evils of intemperance in every part of the country. Gradually public opinion was won over. Drunkenness became less common. In 1846, Maine passed a law prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors within her borders, and so became the first prohibition State.

All these reform movements were started in the hope of improving conditions of life for all unfortunates everywhere. **As we grew onward to democracy, each human being became more important to his fellow humans.** *The modern*

missionary movement grew out of this feeling; and more missionaries were sent to foreign lands and to the Indians in our own.

Along with This Desire to Help the Unfortunate, There Grew
Up a Group of "Abolitionists," Who Wished
to Free All the Slaves

The United States was the only civilized nation of the world which still had slaves. The invention of the cotton gin seemed to fix slavery upon this country (p. 233). As the cotton and rice plantations grew, the demand for slaves to work them became greater. Slave States like Virginia and North Carolina, which could not grow cotton profitably, were soon raising slaves to supply the demand of the Lower South.

Evils of Slavery. — House servants, and slaves who worked the smaller estates *under the eye of their master*, were usually treated with kindness. But on the big plantations of the Lower South, slaves were employed in huge gangs *under hired overseers*. The overseer was often ill-tempered and brutal, and the slaves were kept at work by the lash of his whip. For a slave from Kentucky or Virginia to be sold "down river" was the greatest tragedy that could happen to him. There were many sad partings, too, when a daughter was sold away from her mother, or a husband from his wife and children. Good masters tried to keep a slave family together, but this was not always possible.

This selling of human beings like cattle, — an idea to which the men of the South had become accustomed, — seemed to the reformers of the North a dreadful wrong. It was the sight of the slave market in New Orleans that had filled the heart of the young Abraham Lincoln with a hatred of slavery.

The abolitionists could not rest as long as slavery existed on American soil. In 1831 *William Lloyd Garrison* started

an abolition paper, called the *Liberator*; and soon the orator *Wendell Phillips*, the minister *Theodore Parker*, and the poet *Whittier*, became leaders in the cause.

When the abolitionists attacked slavery, **the Southerners began to defend it hotly.** They argued that slaves in the cotton fields and rice swamps were better off than the poor drudges working sixteen hours a day in the ill-smelling and poorly lighted factories of the North. They gave examples of the care taken of sick and aged slaves. They claimed, too, that it was better for negroes to be working for civilized and Christian masters in America than to be killing each other in the wilds of Africa. Slavery, they said, was a "positive good," recognized by the Bible and necessary to the welfare of the human race. They urged the North to put a stop to abolitionist meetings, and they demanded that the Post Office should refuse to carry abolitionist papers.

Many Northerners, too, detested the abolitionists. The owners of cotton mills and the merchants who sold quantities of goods to the plantation owners did not wish anything to be said or done which would "hurt business." Many other Northerners, who disliked slavery, disliked still more any agitation which would cause hard feeling between North and South and so perhaps break up the Union.

So abolitionist orators were stoned on the street, and their lecture rooms were raided and sometimes burned. Garrison was mobbed in Boston, and the police had to put him in jail to save his life. In Illinois the abolitionist *Lovejoy* was murdered, and his printing presses broken to pieces. Even in a little town of far-off Minnesota a mob broke up the press of the abolitionist publisher *Jane Swisshelm*, and threw it into the Mississippi. In Connecticut, a schoolhouse which had opened its doors to negroes was burned.

In spite of themselves, great numbers of people had to admire the splendid courage with which the abolitionists

met this persecution; and in the North there was a slow drift of opinion to their side. Emerson said of them, — “They may be wrongheaded, but they are wrongheaded *in the right direction*.” What they did was to keep people talking and thinking about slavery — and slavery could not well afford that.

FURTHER READINGS

Interesting information about early American schools can be found in Johnson, *Old Time Schools and School Books* and Slosson, *American Spirit in Education*. Other good books that deal with subjects mentioned in this chapter are Hart, *Source Book of American History*; Hayes, *American Democracy*; Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; Van Loon, *Story of Mankind* (for the movements of reform throughout the world).

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. How would you answer the argument that property owners have the chief interest in orderly government?
2. Find out when your State constitution was adopted. What provision did it make for suffrage? Does it have any other specially democratic provisions?
3. What provision is made in your State for education?
4. Find out the history of reform movements in your town and State — temperance societies, abolition societies, missionary societies, orphanages, hospitals, and so on. What public provision is made for the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind? How did your public library come to be founded? Reports on these subjects would be interesting to the class — especially if you can find old photographs, or other such material with which to illustrate your reports. Copies of early newspapers are also interesting, and the history of the papers of your town or county would make a good report.
5. Do newspapers make “public opinion”? What is meant by a “free press”? Why is it important?

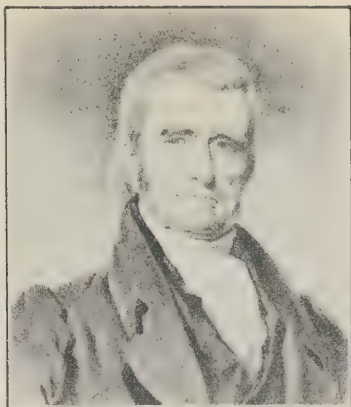
6. Why does a free man work? Why does a slave work? Why did the South oppose abolition? Why did many Northerners oppose abolition?

7. Was the attempt to shut the *Liberator* and other abolitionist papers out of the mails unconstitutional? Does our government ever forbid the use of the mails to anyone? To whom?

8. Let some student find out how manhood suffrage was gained in Rhode Island, and tell the story to the class.



A SLAVE CABIN. — From Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History*.



JOHN MARSHALL, Champion of Nationalism

CHAPTER XXI

SECTIONAL FEELING BATTLES WITH NATIONAL FEELING 1820-1845

For a long time, national feeling had been growing. It was strongest in the West, where the new States owed their very existence to the national government. The people there gave their loyalty as a matter of course to the Nation first and to their States afterward.

Then, after the War of 1812, this feeling of "Nationalism" spread for a time over the whole country. We have seen how it was helped by the building of better roads, canals, and railroads, and by the dependence of each section of the country upon every other in industry.

The national government now exercised more powers than at first. This was partly because of the work of the Supreme Court under the great Chief Justice, *John Marshall*. Marshall held that office for thirty-five years. During that time the Court was often asked to decide whether a law passed by Congress was "constitutional" or not. In such cases, Marshall and the Court decided that the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution (p. 202) gave

Congress power to do many things that were not stated in so many words in the Constitution. Thus the people became used to expecting the national government to use many new powers, and were proud of what it accomplished.

At the same time a growing difference of interests was causing new differences of feeling between the *sections*, — North, South, West. (West and East had not yet been bound together by railroads; p. 358.) Each section wanted laws passed which favored its particular interests. **This sectional jealousy was finally to become a greater danger to the Union than the old State jealousy had been.** (How did the sections stand on the *sale of public lands*? On the *admission of Missouri*? A few pages further on, you will find them differing on another big question.)

Monroe's two administrations, right after the War of 1812, had been called an "Era of Good Feeling," but **the presidential campaign of 1824** brought out all the new rivalry. Each part of the country had its pet leader and wished to see him made President. The Westerners especially felt that it was their turn to send someone to the White House.

There were so many candidates that the electoral vote was scattered and no one had a majority. (That is, no one had *more than half of all* the votes.) The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution provides that in such a case the House of Representatives shall choose a President from the three candidates who received the *most* electoral votes. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the hero of New Orleans and of the Indian Wars in the Southwest, had received more electoral votes than anyone else. But the House of Representatives elected the man who stood next to him, — John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts.

What is the "electoral vote"? What determines the number of electors in each State? How many has your State now?

Adams' Troubled Administration. — Jackson's friends had been quite sure their man would be elected, and they felt that their leader had suffered a great injustice. They were so bitter that they blocked Adams' wishes all through the four years of his administration. This was unfortunate; for Adams was an able and patriotic statesman, with noble plans for his country's good. But he was stern and reserved in manner, and the people thought him an aristocrat, while the more democratic Jackson was a popular hero.

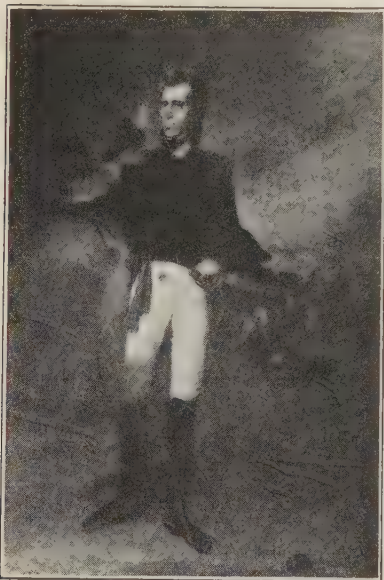
The Triumph of Jacksonian Democracy. — At the next election, Jackson was again a candidate against Adams, and he was elected by an overwhelming vote. *This election of 1828 was a real revolution in our government* — far more so than the election of Jefferson had been.

The first six Presidents, whatever their ideas about government, had all belonged to old and aristocratic families. The two Adamses had represented the rich merchants of New England; while Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had been wealthy Virginia planters. All had had long training in political office. Each, except Washington, had been minister to some important European court and Secretary of State at home. But no one of the six knew the life of the plain people at first hand.

Jackson was the opposite of all this. He was born of poor parents in a frontier county of South Carolina, and was left an orphan while still just a boy. As a young man, he moved to Tennessee, to struggle successfully for a living on a new frontier. He had managed to become a lawyer, though he had had very little schooling; but he was admired not so much for his legal ability as for his achievements as a soldier and a man of action. The people of the West looked upon him as one of themselves.

For the first time, then, a real "man of the people" was master in the White House. And the plain people felt

that, through him, they had at last really taken possession of the government. Men who were used to the stately dignity and reserve of the old days in the White House looked on with horror at the roughness of the "mob" that



ANDREW JACKSON AT FIFTY-TWO, — a portrait painted ten years before he became President; now in the New York City Hall.

attended Jackson's inaugural reception. One observer wrote: "By ten o'clock the Avenue was crowded by carriages of every description, from the splendid baronet and coach down to wagons and carts, filled with women and children, some in finery and some in rags, for it was the People's president." Some had come hundreds of miles to see their hero. After the inauguration they flocked through the White House, creating a perfect pandemonium. In their eagerness to see Jackson, they spilled the punch, broke the dishes, and stood in their muddy boots on the

damask satin-covered chairs. No wonder the friends of the old order felt that the government was going to pieces.

Jackson took his election as a sacred trust from the people. During the eight years he was in office he used far more authority than other Presidents had done, but always with the idea that he was working for the people's good. He paid little attention to either his Cabinet or his Congress; and his eight years, 1829 to 1837, are often called the "*Reign of Andrew Jackson*." In fact his "reign" may be said to have lasted four years longer: he retired after

two terms; but his right-hand man, *Martin Van Buren* of New York, took his place and continued to carry out Jackson ideas for another four years.

What recent changes in the State governments had made possible Jackson's victory? Do you see how the westward movement of population helped elect him? What class in the East would naturally support him?

During Jackson's presidency the old Democratic-Republican party divided into *two* parties. The Jackson men took the name *Democrats*. Their opponents, led by Webster and Clay, at first called themselves *National Republicans*, but soon took the name *Whigs*. (See Exercise 5 on p. 342.)

The new parties held the first *national nominating conventions* in this country just before the election of 1832. Such party machinery is not provided for in the Constitution, but grew up outside it. It gave the voters of each party a better chance to pick out the candidate they wanted and the policies for which they wished their party to stand, instead of leaving such matters to a few leaders. It was not long, however, before clever politicians were "bossing" the affairs of the conventions pretty much to suit themselves. Still the people *could* express themselves there, if they would take time and



HENRY CLAY AT FORTY-THREE. — A portrait by Jouett; reproduced from Woodrow Wilson's *American People* (Harper's).

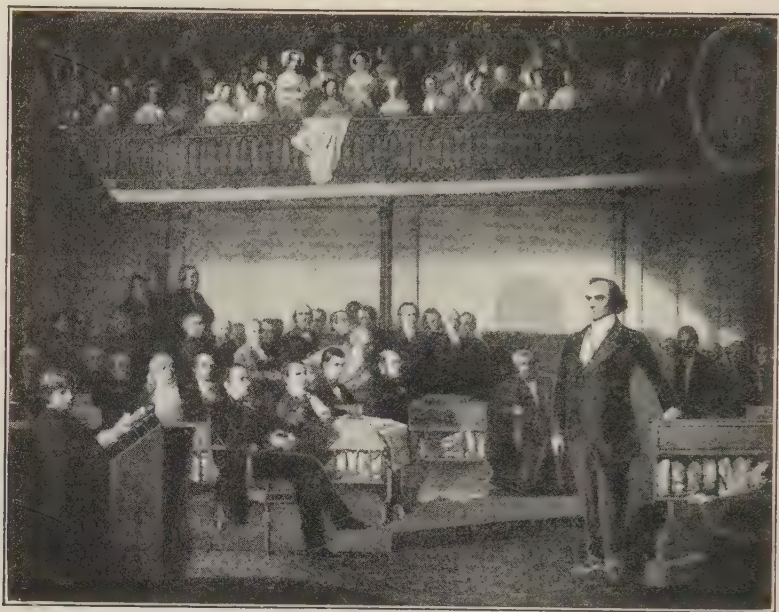
trouble enough. So the new political machinery was a gain for democracy.

The Spoils System. — The President, with the consent of the Senate, appoints the members of his Cabinet, Federal judges, and ministers to foreign countries. He also has the power to appoint thousands of minor officials: treasury clerks, collectors of revenue, postal clerks, postmen, Indian agents, and so forth. Jackson used this appointing power in a new way. Instead of waiting for vacancies to occur (as earlier Presidents had usually done) or merely removing men from office because they did not do the work well, *he removed officials because they had disagreed with him in political opinions*, filling their places with his own supporters. In one year he made over two thousand of these "political" removals.

This seems very unwise to us, but to Jackson it was just one way of giving the people their will. The party which was victorious, he thought, should be the party to hold the offices. His followers shouted, "To the victor belong the spoils!" and men gave the name *Spoils system* to this method of making appointments. Fifty years later it took a bitter fight to cure this evil (ch. xxvii).

By Jackson's time the country had become very much divided over the tariff. The manufacturing North was now wholly in favor of it. The farmers of the West hoped that some of the proceeds from it would be used to build the roads and canals which they needed, and so did not oppose it. But the planters of the South were disappointed in the tariff. They had hoped at first that they, too, might develop manufactures. But that had not happened. Slave labor was not suited to factories.

So, in 1824 and 1828 when Congress passed higher tariffs, the Southern members opposed them bitterly. Calhoun had



WEBSTER REPLYING TO HAYNE.

When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured — bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? Nor these other words of delusion and folly, Liberty first and Union afterwards — but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

— *Webster's closing words in the "Great Debate."*

avored the tariff of 1816; but now he set forth the new Southern opinion in a famous pamphlet called the *Exposition*. The South had to buy almost all its manufactured articles; and the tariff, Calhoun argued, increased their cost, — taxing the Southern planter (and Western farmer) to benefit the New England factory owner. He declared that Congress had no right to pass tax laws that favored one section in this way. And he claimed that any State which felt that it was treated unfairly by Congress had the right to *nullify* unjust Federal laws. That is, it might declare them unconstitutional, and keep them from being enforced within its borders.

The Webster-Hayne Debate. — This question of a State's right to nullify a National law had come up twice before (do you remember when?); but this time it was hotly debated in Congress. Calhoun was Vice-President and so could not speak in the debate, but the brilliant *Senator Hayne* of South Carolina presented his ideas. Hayne was opposed by *Daniel Webster*, the greatest orator that has ever spoken in our Senate.

Webster brought all his eloquence to answer the theory of nullification. The Union, he said, could not legally be broken, and no single State had the right to pass upon laws made by Congress, or to refuse obedience to them. Only the Supreme Court could declare a National law unconstitutional.

The debate lasted for days, and aroused intense interest. Every day the Senate gallery was crowded. The closing words of Webster's second speech, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," rang through the country, and became the watchword of nationalism in the great struggle that was soon to take place.

South Carolina Nullifies. — The Southerners were not convinced by Webster's eloquence. They saw the profits of their cotton crops going into the pockets of the Northern

manufacturers, and they continued to protest. In 1832 Congress did somewhat revise the tariff, but not enough to meet their objections. South Carolina then carried out her threats. *She held a special convention which "nullified" the Tariff and forbade the collection of the duties at her ports.*

Jackson and the Force Bill. — Jackson was a Southern man, and the Southerners hoped he might side with them. But he was a Western man too, and believed in the nation first; and he was a soldier, and believed the law should be enforced. He sent troops to South Carolina at once, and asked Congress to pass a *Force Bill* which would give him more power to enforce the law. He also issued a solemn appeal to his native State, South Carolina, to give up the dangerous doctrine of nullification.

Congress did pass the Force Bill; but *on the same day*, under the leadership of Henry Clay, they also passed **the Compromise Tariff of 1833**. This law provided for a gradual reduction, during the next ten years, back to the rates of 1816. So, having carried her point, South Carolina repealed her ordinance of nullification, and no use was made of the Force Bill. The question of nullification, however, was left unsettled.

East and West now quarrelled over the United States Bank. — You remember that when the first National Bank was chartered, Jefferson and the Republicans opposed it as unconstitutional. This party was in power in 1811 when the Bank's charter ran out, and they refused to renew it. But during the War of 1812 business was much upset; and in 1816, Congress gave a charter to a *second* United States Bank. This Bank was given many privileges, and the money of the government was deposited in it. But States also had created banks, which were jealous of the new National bank and felt they were being put out of business by it.

Then in 1819 came a period of hard times (p. 304). Men who had borrowed money were not able to pay it back. Many of the new factories were closed, and thousands of men were put out of work. In the poorer parts of the country (the South and West), no one's credit was good; and men there who tried to borrow money of the Bank were almost always refused. They felt very bitter about this; and were sure that the officials of the Bank, favored the East, and deliberately injured the West. Even after the panic had passed, the Westerners continued to hate the Bank, and several Western legislatures passed resolutions declaring it unconstitutional. Jackson shared this feeling. He asserted that the Bank was a dangerous monopoly, which could make or break men, parties, or whole sections of the country at will.

Jackson and the Bank. — In his first message to Congress (December, 1829), Jackson advised against ever renewing the charter. Congress did not agree with him, and in 1831 it passed a bill to give the Bank a new charter — since the old one had nearly run out. Jackson vetoed this bill; and the next year he was reëlected with a tremendous majority, though the Bank used all its power in the campaign against him.

Jackson took his reëlection as a sign that the people wished him to get rid of the Bank at once. So he did not even wait for the old charter to run out. Instead he instructed the Secretary of the Treasury not to deposit any more government funds in the Bank, but to put them in State banks, mostly in the South and West. His enemies called these "Jackson's pet banks."

The Bank officials now tried to scare the country into supporting the Bank. It was the time of year when farmers needed money to get their crops to market. But the Bank began to call in its loans and so caused severe suffering in the South and West. This action only lost the Bank

more supporters and proved to the people's satisfaction that Jackson was right. His methods were high-handed and unwise, but his instincts regarding the people's interests were sure. The Bank was not able to frighten him into changing his policy, and finally it became a State bank with a charter from Pennsylvania.

In that day, people did not know much about banking. Many of the old State banks were acting rashly; and now "**wildcat**" **banks sprang up**, especially in the West and South. They issued quantities of paper money, without any gold or silver in reserve to back it up, and lent a great deal of this money on poor security.

Then, since it was so easy to borrow money, men *speculated* with it recklessly. In particular, they bought up quantities of public land in hope of future profits. *State governments*, too, were borrowing money on a huge scale to build roads and canals (p. 301). Everybody was buying *on credit*, forgetting that the time would come when they would have to pay.

The Specie Circular.—Jackson, however, was getting worried because so much of the public land was being paid for by bank paper money of uncertain value. So in 1836, in order to safeguard the government, he issued a statement that *in the future the government would accept only gold and silver in payment for lands*.

This made people suspicious of paper money for *any* purpose. If it wasn't good enough for the government, something must be wrong with it. So they began to get gold and silver from the banks in place of the paper money they had been using. The banks were unable to meet this demand, and soon every bank in the country closed its doors.

The crash came in 1837, just as Van Buren took office. Factories were shut down; mortgages were foreclosed;

thousands of men were put out of work and hundreds lost their homes. People who had gold and silver hid it away. In many places business had to be done by barter, as in colonial times. From living far beyond their means, people became afraid to spend anything at all.

Of course Jackson's enemies blamed his Bank policy for the panic. As a matter of fact, the real causes lay much



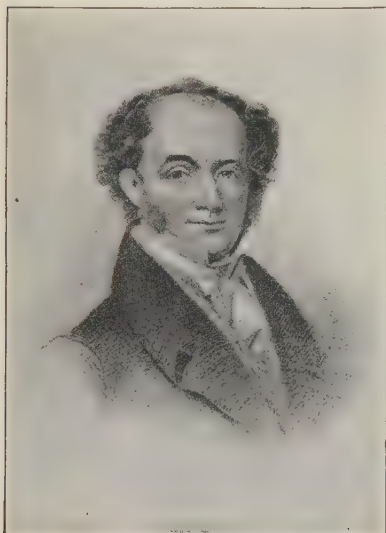
UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING AT WASHINGTON.

deeper. The Bank might have been able to help somewhat, but it could not have stopped the effects of the poor business methods and reckless spending of the day. Indeed, the panic of 1837 was *world-wide*, just as the over-speculation had been.

Two results of the panic in the United States were: (1) States began to pass wiser laws, regulating the amount of paper money banks could issue and the kind of loans they could make; and (2) the United States government adopted the *Independent Treasury system*, by which the funds of the government are kept in government vaults.

You will see that other panics occurred in 1857, 1873, 1893, and 1919; and you have already read of earlier ones, in 1786, and in 1819. Several of them have been world-wide. Notice about how far apart these panics have been. Our Federal Reserve Act of 1913 is an attempt to prevent such disasters.

Van Buren's four years were clouded by the hard times. He was wealthy and it was said that he ate off of gold plate



MARTIN VAN BUREN. After his presidency, Mr. Van Buren had a long and honorable career as leader of the anti-slavery Democrats.

in the White House, — a report that made him still more unpopular in those times of want. Three important acts of his administration were the *Independent Treasury Act*, the *Preëemption Act* (p. 290), and the act providing a *ten-hour day* for federal employees (p. 324).

In the election of 1840, the shrewd Whig leaders picked for a candidate against Van Buren a man who appealed to the West much as Jackson had, but who stood for Whig principles — a National Bank, protective tariff, and in-

ternal improvements at national expense. This candidate was *William Henry Harrison*, hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe and of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, as Jackson had been in the Southwest. For Vice President the Whigs nominated John Tyler of Virginia — really a Democrat but opposed to the Jackson wing of that party.

The Whigs had represented, so far, the Eastern aristocracy, and they had carried on their campaigns in a very dignified way. But in this campaign they sought votes by trying to

be more democratic than the Democrats and more Western than the West. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" and "Little Van is a used up man" were the slogans they shouted; and when the Democrats charged (unjustly) that Harrison wanted nothing but a log cabin and a jug of hard cider, the Whigs adopted the log cabin as their campaign symbol. They won the election, and replaced the Democratic office-holders by Whigs.

Harrison died one month after coming to office, worn out, it was said, by thousands of office seekers who sought rewards for supporting him in the election. So **Tyler became President** in his place. He disagreed with his Whig Congress and vetoed its bills for a new bank and for internal improvements; but in 1842 he did sign a new tariff act, slightly raising the rates.

The most important work of this administration was the *Webster-Ashburton Treaty*, negotiated by Daniel Webster, who was Secretary of State. The long dispute with Great Britain over the boundary of Maine (p. 234) had broken out again; but this treaty settled it finally by a wise compromise in which each side gave up a part of its claim.

FURTHER READINGS

Interesting accounts of Jackson and the events of his administrations are to be found in Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*; Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Nation*; Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*.

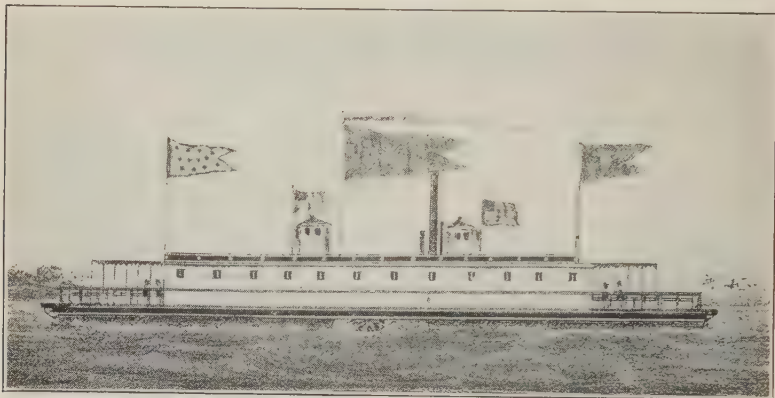
SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Make and fill in a chart of the Presidents down to 1844.

DATE	NAME	PARTY	CHIEF EVENTS
1789	Washington		

2. Put down all the public policies you can think of which were favored especially by the West during this period.

3. Do you find any *steps toward democracy* in this chapter? Notice that *Democrat* refers to a member of a political party, and *democrat* to a believer in government by the people.



THE *UNION*,—a New York City ferryboat, built by Robert Fulton in 1836. What led Fulton to choose that name at that time? Do you know why New York City had to have ferryboats?

4. Explain the term *compromise*. Do you think the Compromise Tariff was a good thing? What other compromises had settled difficulties between the North and the South before this time? How did slavery affect these disagreements?

5. Be sure that you understand the paragraph on p. 333 about new parties. What had become of the old Federalists? How long had there been really only one party? Do you see why one of the new parties called itself *National Republicans*? Can you find any reason why this party finally took the name *Whig*?



ON THE WAY TO OREGON: AN INDIAN ALARM. — From a drawing of 1845.

CHAPTER XXII

EXPANSION AND SLAVERY, 1840-1850

I. OREGON AND TEXAS

The name *Oregon* had long belonged to all the vast district between California and $54^{\circ} 40'$, the southern boundary of Russian Alaska. Both the United States and England claimed the whole region. In 1818, when the two countries agreed upon the boundary between them *east* of the mountains, the settlement of their conflicting claims to Oregon had been *postponed for twenty years* by the agreement for "joint occupation" (p. 263).

But Americans were now making permanent settlements. Missionaries had followed our traders across the two thousand miles of wilderness, and their glowing tales of the Oregon country soon began to draw adventurous colonists. In 1842 *Dr. Elijah White* and *Dr. Marcus Whitman* guided bands of settlers into the fertile valley of the Willamette. There these pioneers opened up farms, and in 1843 they set up a government of their own. At the same time they urged the United States to make good its claim to Oregon,

so that they might come under its government and have its help against the Indians.

The Oregon Treaty. — In the election of 1844 the Democrats shouted “Fifty-four forty or fight!” and they elected their man, James K. Polk, over the Whig candidate, Henry Clay. But in 1846 Polk settled the dispute with England, much as Clay no doubt would have done, by dividing the Oregon district with her along the line of the forty-ninth parallel. (This line was already the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Oregon country.)

The arrangement was reasonable. Both countries had *real* claims based on early explorations, and both had fur stations in the disputed district. British traders had been earlier and more active than ours, but the American farms in the Willamette valley quite offset that. The important point was that both countries *needed* an outlet from the east to the Pacific. At that time neither could get such an opening without getting *part* of the Oregon country.

In spite of the distance, the fertile lands drew settlers in swiftly increasing numbers along the two-thousand-mile Oregon Trail; and in 1859 the southern part of the American half was admitted as the State of Oregon without slavery. (When the Territory was organized, some years earlier, Congress had forbidden slavery within it.)

The Texas Question. — The Missouri Compromise had left only a little territory to be occupied by slave holders (map opp. p. 307). Arkansas became a slave State in 1836; and the rest of the land south of 36° 30' had been set aside as Indian territory. So the Southern planters now found their further progress to the West blocked by *Texas*, a province of the Republic of Mexico; and they urged the United States to obtain that for them.

In 1819 we had given up our old claim to Texas as part of the price for Florida (p. 247). But still the region was



ON THE WAY TO OREGON, — a scene in the foothills east of the Rockies. The wagon train has formed its corral for the night, but the travelers, while busied with their evening meals and their cattle, are alarmed by the appearance of a band of Indians on a near-by butte, to whom the leader of the train is trying to signal with a blanket for a "peace talk."



PART OF SEATTLE TO-DAY, with a view of the mountains across the Sound.

What strength ! what strife ! what rude unrest !
What shocks ! What half-shaped armies met !
A mighty nation moving west,
With all its steel sinews set
Against the living forest. Hear
The shouts, the shots of pioneer,
The rended forests, rolling wheels,
As if some half-checked army reels,
Recoils, redoubles, comes again,
Loud sounding like a hurricane.

.

O heart of the world's heart ! West ! my West !
Look up ! Look out ! There are fields of kine,
There are clover fields that are red as wine ;

.

There are emerald seas of corn and cane ;
There are isles of oak and harvest plain,
Where brown men bend to the bending grain.
There are temples of God, and towns new born,
And beautiful homes of beautiful brides.
And the hearts of oak and the hands of horn
Have fashioned them all, and a world besides.

— Joaquin Miller, in *From Sea to Sea*.

finally settled by immigrants from the United States. In 1821, Mexico declared its independence from Spain. Texas was part of the new Mexican Republic, but it was then uninhabited. So Mexico invited Americans to settle there, giving them huge grants of land, and promising them a large amount of self government. And soon hundreds of Americans from the Southwest crossed the borders into Texas, becoming citizens of Mexico. Many of them, of course, took their slaves with them.

Texan Independence.—Soon quarrels arose between these settlers and their Mexican neighbors. Mexico then tried to keep other Americans from coming. In 1829, too, the Mexican government abolished slavery. This alarmed not only the Texan slaveholders, but also the American planters over the border, many of whom had been planning to move across with their slaves. Both these parties now urged the United States to *buy* Texas. Several attempts were made to do so, but Mexico steadfastly refused to sell. Moreover, a new Mexican government now tried to take away the self-government that the Texans had enjoyed. So in 1836 the Texans set up a government of their own and declared themselves an independent nation.

Mexico, of course, would not allow this great province to **break away** without a struggle. At the *Alamo*, an old mission near San Antonio, a little garrison of Texan volun-



THE ALAMO TO-DAY.

teers was surrounded by a Mexican army sixteen times their size. The Texans made a heroic fight until only six of their number were left. These surrendered, but were then put to death as "traitors" by order of the Mexican general.

A few days later (April 21), the main force of the Texan frontiersmen, under *General Sam Houston*, met the Mexican army at *San Jacinto*. The Texans were still outnumbered six to one; but they charged fiercely with the vengeful battle cry, "Remember the Alamo!", and won a complete victory. This practically ended the war.

The Texans at once asked the United States to annex Texas to the Union. Our country became greatly excited over this question. The anti-slavery men of course were bitterly opposed to adding more slave territory. John Quincy Adams, author of the Monroe Doctrine, claimed also that to annex Texas would be to abandon our high position as a friend of the smaller American republics, and to prove ourselves no better than the conquering and plundering countries of Europe. He even charged that the whole Texan revolution had been a Southern plot to rob Mexico and to obtain more slave territory for the United States. But the Southerners maintained that the annexation of Texas was absolutely necessary in order to keep the "balance of power" between the slave States and the rapidly growing free States. The West, too, favored annexation; it had much fellow-feeling for the Texan frontiersmen, and a strong desire to expand American territory to the Southwest as well as to the Northwest.

So the Democrats put the Annexation of Texas into their platform in 1844 — along with the Occupation of Oregon. This expansionist idea won in the election, as we have seen. President Tyler then hastened to secure the annexation of Texas *without waiting for Polk to be inaugurated*. In that same year (1845) *Florida* was also made a State, — the last

slave State ever admitted. *Iowa* came in the next year, and *Wisconsin* in 1848, which again made the number of slave and free States even.

II. THE SOUTHWEST EXPANDS TO THE PACIFIC

President Polk felt that the true welfare of the United States demanded not only the acquiring of Texas and Oregon, but of *all* the territory between Texas and the Pacific coast. This included the two vast Mexican provinces of *New Mexico* and *California*. Let us note the earlier history of these districts.

In New Mexico there had been Spanish settlements ever since the sixteenth century, and the white population had grown slowly until by 1845 it numbered 50,000. But it was not until about the time of the American Revolution that Spanish missionaries found the difficult passes through the lofty mountains from New Mexico into California. The first mission *there* was founded in 1769 at San Diego. During the next few years twenty more were built in that region.

About these missions there grew up large and contented settlements of Christian Indians. Taught by the good friars, the Indians planted and cared for flourishing vineyards, olive groves, and orchards; tended the flocks of sheep and droves of cattle and horses; built roads and bridges; quarried the stone for the mission buildings; carved the pulpits and altar pieces for the mission chapels; and in them worshiped the white man's God.

Then other Spanish settlers came in across the plains from New Mexico with land grants from the new Mexican government. The mission fathers had to give up most of their lands and their rule over the Indians. But the Spanish gentlemen, too, were kindly landlords and rulers. The Mexican government was far away and disturbed them little. They rode, danced, visited, and entertained their

friends with generous hospitality, while the Indians tilled the fields for them and tended their huge flocks of sheep. The Indians were not hard worked. The soil was fertile, and the climate sunny. Life was leisurely and pleasant, if not progressive.

Soon after 1800, American traders began to penetrate into these provinces. The first trade was by sea. A good example is the voyage of Captain Cooper of Boston, who in 1823 carried American goods around the Horn and traded them for furs in the harbor of Monterey. He then crossed the Pacific, where he exchanged his furs for Chinese teas and silks; and finally sold his Chinese goods in California on his return. California ports became regular stations for American ships in their trade with the Far East.

Meantime, American traders were journeying across the desert to *Santa Fe* with caravans of packhorses and wagons loaded with china, glass, hardware, silks, and cottons, which they exchanged there for furs, Indian blankets, and silver. Large fortunes were made in this traffic over the famous and dangerous *Santa Fe Trail* (map after p. 354).

Next, American adventurers pressed on across New Mexico, by the old Spanish trails, to open an overland trade with California. Settlers followed the traders. In 1845 there were about 6000 white inhabitants in California, nearly four hundred of whom were Americans.

In 1847 one other group of Americans gained permission from Mexico to settle toward the northern border of this same region. These were the *Mormons*, or "Latter Day Saints," who believed that their founder, *Joseph Smith*, had received a special revelation from God. Smith and his followers had been driven from New York to Ohio, then to Missouri, and then to Illinois, where hostile mobs destroyed their settlement at Nauvoo and murdered Smith. A new leader, *Brigham Young*, then led the Mormons out to *Utah*,



THE FIRST GLIMPSE BY WHITE MEN (a Spanish expedition overland from New Mexico) OF THE HARBOR OF SAN FRANCISCO, — "the Golden Gate," often called "the most beautiful harbor in the world."



Photo by Ben Wittick.

AN ARIZONA WATER HOLE. — a welcome sight on the Sante Fe Trail in wagon and packhorse days. Travelers depended upon these rare spring-fed "oases" for water and largely for grass for their animals. The expedition pictured above must have been fortunate in finding such spots, or it would have perished — as many others did. Note the *mesa* in the background. Many of these strange rocky structures are scattered through the desert regions of the West.



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GARDEN AND PATIO OF A CALIFORNIA SPANISH HOME described in Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*.



THE FRANCISCAN MISSION AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, whose sandstone walls were six feet thick, but which were completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. The famous building replaced an earlier one (built in 1787) which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1812. The walls were decorated with paintings which were the work of Indian converts.

near the *Great Salt Lake*. Here in the desert, on their grant from Mexico, they founded a prosperous colony. They irrigated the sandy soil, and made the desert blossom. Soon they had flourishing farms and great herds of cattle. Many thousands of converts joined them, from Europe as well as from the Eastern United States.



MORMON TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE,
Salt Lake City.

War with Mexico. —

After the annexation of Texas, President Polk sent a mission to Mexico, offering to buy New Mexico and California. The Mexicans refused to sell; and the American representative wrote home that the United States could not hope to get the desired territory except by force.

Just at this moment *war with Mexico broke out as a result of a dispute over the boundaries of Texas*, which was now part of the United States. The Texans claimed that their southwestern boundary was the Rio Grande. Mexico insisted that Texas reached only to the Nueces River. The United States adopted the claim of Texas, and the President ordered troops into the disputed territory. Mexico considered this an invasion, and her troops attacked the Americans. Then Polk declared that, "*in spite of all our efforts*," war existed "by the act of Mexico"; and Congress appropriated money for war.

The Mexican Land Cessions. — There was not much doubt as to the result. The war was sure to end in giving to the United States the territory it wanted. Mexico was invaded from three directions, and fighting continued a little over a year. On February 2, 1848, the Mexicans

signed a treaty of peace. They gave up the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande and also ceded to the United States the provinces of California and New Mexico. In return the United States paid Mexico fifteen million dollars. In 1853 we bought also another small strip south of this cession. (Look up these new gains of territory on the map opposite. What States have been formed from them?)

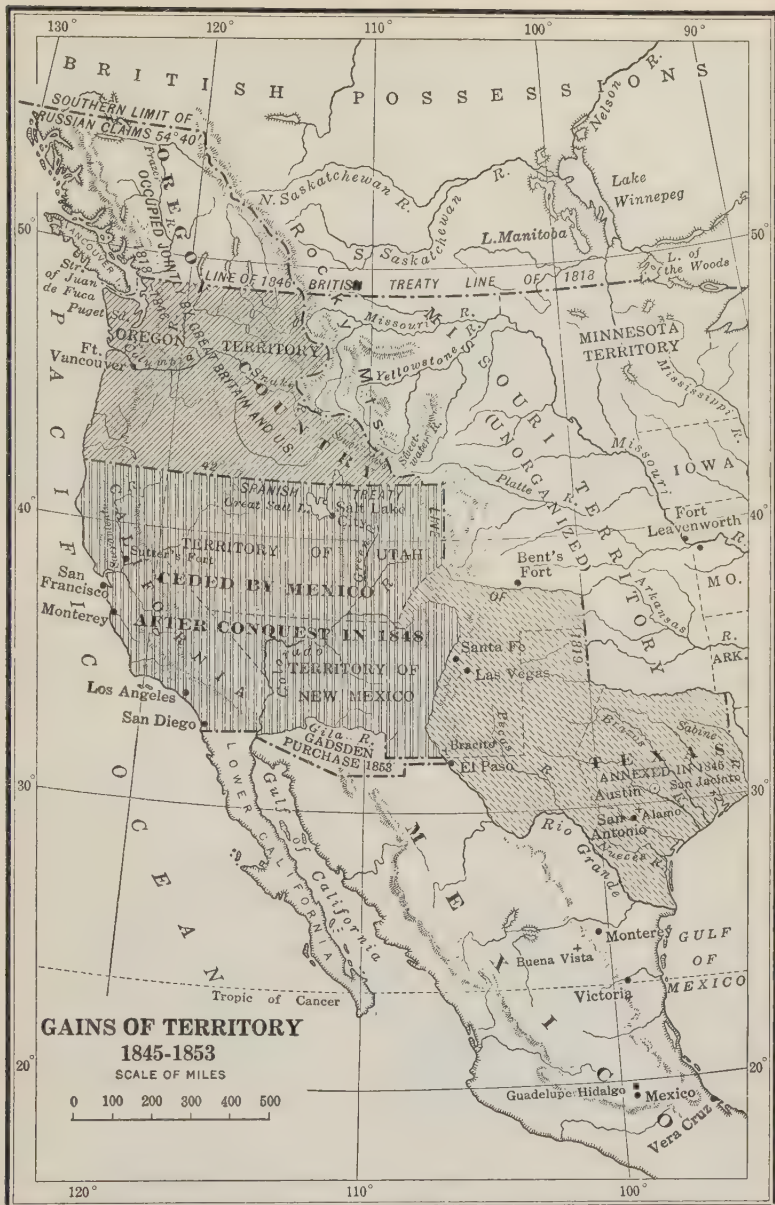
III. WAS THIS SOUTHWEST TO BE SLAVE OR FREE?

The territory acquired from Mexico was a glorious empire, and it added tremendously to the wealth and opportunities of the people of the United States. **But the war had also greatly increased the bitterness between North and South.** Many anti-slavery men felt that the United States had been drawn into an unjust war by the desire of the South for slave territory. In their turn, they talked of nullification and even of secession. The poet *Lowell* wrote:

“Ef I’d *my* way, I hed ruther
We should go to work an’ part, —
They take one way, we take t’other, —
Guess it wouldn’t break my heart.”

Other Northerners were vehemently determined at least to keep slavery from profiting by the gain of New Mexico and California. (Texas, of course, *was* a slave State.) And so, during the war itself, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania proposed a resolution in Congress that any territory secured from Mexico should be *free* territory. The House passed this *Wilmot Proviso*, but it failed in the Senate. The House then attached the Proviso to bill after bill, only to have it always turned down in the Senate. Abraham Lincoln, then for two years in the House, voted for the principle of this Proviso forty-two times.

Some Northerners were willing to continue the Missouri Compromise line across the Mexican cession, so that Mason





SUTTER'S FORT IN 1848.



A CARTOON FROM *PUNCH* IN 1849, making fun of the gold rush. *Punch* is the great English humorous magazine, somewhat like our *Life*. One of the pictures facing p. 352 shows that many of the "vessels bound for California" got there.

and Dixon's line should reach to the Pacific. A glance at the map will show you that this would have given most of the disputed district to slavery. Extreme Southerners wanted to keep *all* of it open to slavery. Still another group of people, mostly from the West, thought the decision should be left to those who settled the new territory. This plan was called "*squatter sovereignty*."

The Discovery of Gold in California Changes the Course of American History

President Polk had wanted California mainly because of its two splendid harbors on the Pacific at San Diego and San Francisco. The new territory was separated from the settled districts of the United States on the Arkansas and Missouri rivers by lofty mountains and wide stretches of arid plains, and no one expected settlement to be very rapid. But, two days before the treaty with Mexico was signed, gold was discovered, by chance, at Captain Sutter's sawmill in the Sacramento valley — after the Spaniards had sought it in vain in that country for three hundred years.

"**The Forty-Niners.**" — When people in the East heard of the discovery (months later, of course), they were seized with the "gold fever." Early in the spring of 1849 an army of gold seekers started for the far-distant Pacific, — farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, lawyers, doctors, men of every description. The most popular song of the day became the chorus of the miners on the march :

"We'll scrape the mountains
clean, old girl, we'll
drain the rivers dry.

We're off to Californy. Su-
sannah don't you cry!

Oh Susannah, don't you cry
for me!

I'm off to Californy with my
washbowl on my knee."



TOOLS OF A FORTY-NINER: a screw borer to test for gold; a "cradle" to rock sand back and forth in; and a "washbowl" for final sifting of gold from sand.

Yet it was no easy matter to reach California in 1849. The easiest but longest way was to *sail around Cape Horn* — a voyage of four or five months. A shorter way was to take ship to the *Isthmus of Panama*, and then, crossing the Isthmus, take ship again up the Pacific coast; but the land trip across the Isthmus was haunted with fever for men of Northern climates, and water transportation up the Pacific coast was uncertain. The route most commonly taken was a third one, — shorter than the others, although 2000 miles long, — an *overland trail from the Mississippi across the plains and through the Rockies*.

The dangers were many. Indians attacked and killed whole parties of immigrants; wagons broke down, and oxen died; numbers of the adventurers perished of disease or exposure, and others of thirst and hunger. The road came to be marked by whitened skeletons.

In spite of the dangers of the journey, the population of California in less than eighteen months leaped to nearly 100,000! It was not possible to wait for distant Congress to form a government for this thronging multitude. There were many disorderly and lawless men among the gold-seekers; and the better class soon had to form "*Vigilance Committees*," so as to settle disputes and punish criminals. Then within a few months a convention drew up a constitution *forbidding slavery*, and asked Congress for admission as a free *State*. The rush of "*Forty-niners*" had filled California with *free labor*.



A PUNCH CARTOON suggesting how the miner had to guard his gold if he found any.

The application from California also brought before Congress the question of slavery in *all* the new territory. It was debated hotly there, and soon it became interwoven with two other questions that were causing much bitterness between North and South.



SAN FRANCISCO AND ITS HARBOR IN NOVEMBER OF 1848.



SAN FRANCISCO AND HARBOR IN NOVEMBER OF 1849. — From Bayard Taylor's *Eldorado*, the story of his personal visit in that year. There were many tents higher up the hillside, like a few that show in the picture, but not many more buildings.

1. The North was demanding that *slavery*, or at least *the slave trade*, should be prohibited in the District of Columbia. Northern officials were shocked at the sight of auctions at the Washington slave market, and were ashamed to have representatives of foreign nations see this traffic in human beings carried on at the very seat of our government — long after it had been abolished in their own countries.

2. The South on the other hand complained that a *Fugitive Slave Law* that had been passed in 1793 was not enforced in the North, and that northern abolitionists helped runaway slaves to escape to Canada.

The Compromise of 1850. — In the quarrel over these questions, feeling rose so high that men of extreme views on both sides again threatened to secede from the Union. But Henry Clay, “the Peacemaker,” now suggested another compromise, which, he hoped, would settle the disputes over slavery forever. He thought each side should give up something in order to secure peace and save the Union. Daniel Webster, also fearing that the Union was really in danger, used all his eloquence on the same side. And finally, after long and bitter debate, the famous Compromise of 1850 became law. Its chief provisions were :

1. California was admitted as a free State.

2. The rest of the land taken from Mexico was organized into the two Territories of Utah and New Mexico (map facing p. 350), and *the question of slavery in them was left to be settled by their inhabitants when they should come in as States.*

3. Slavery was allowed to continue in the District of Columbia, but the *slave-trade* was forbidden there.

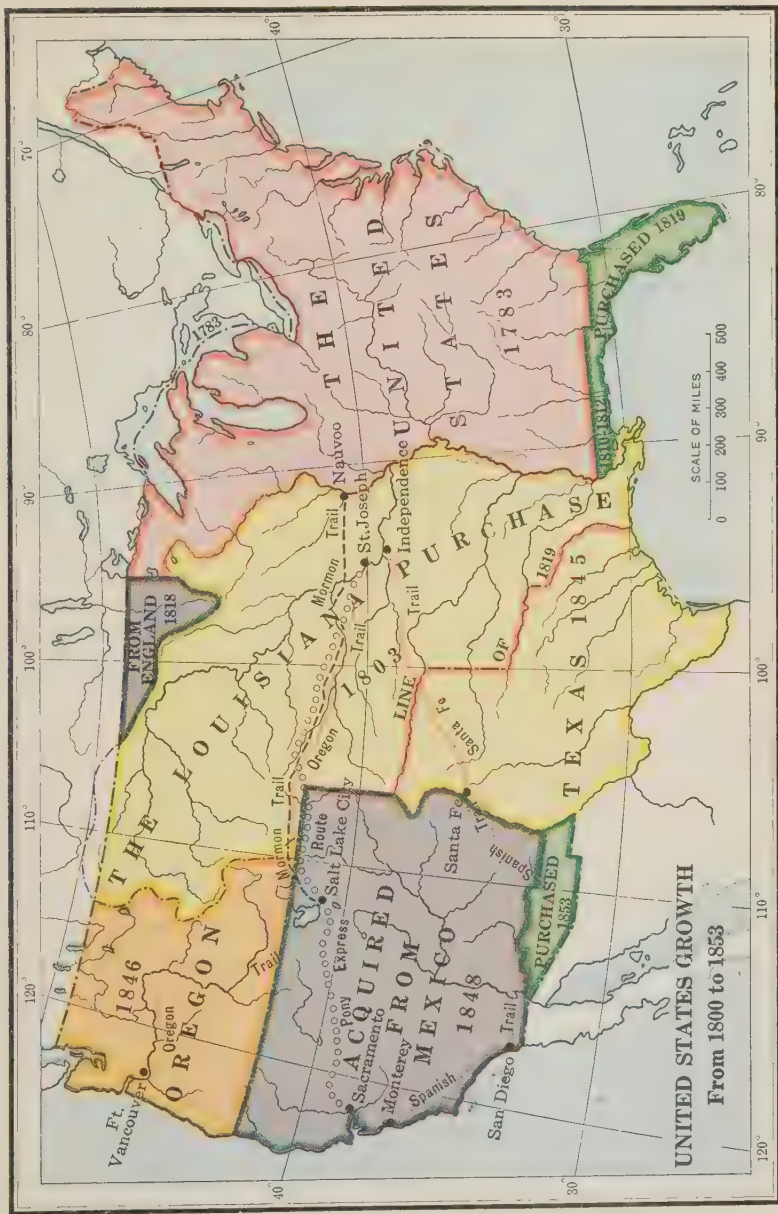
4. A new Fugitive Slave Law was passed, to make it easier for slave owners to catch their runaways, especially by requiring Northern citizens to aid the slave catcher if called upon to do so.

FURTHER READINGS

Many topics in connection with our expansion to the Pacific are discussed in Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*; Grinnell, *Trails of the Pathfinders*; McMurry, *Pioneers in the Rockies and the West*; Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*; Roosevelt and Lodge, *American Hero Tales*; Nick Wilson, *The White Indian Boy*; Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*; Rydell, *On Pacific Frontiers*; Ezra Meeker, *Ox-Team Days on the Oregon Trail*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. On the map show the parts of the United States that at one time belonged to Great Britain; to Holland; to France; to Spain; to Mexico.
2. Be able to outline the growth of the United States from the beginning, giving the *date* and *from whom* each piece of territory was acquired, and *how* it was gained (whether by purchase, arbitration, or conquest). Notice that the Mexican province *New Mexico* included much more than our State with that name. What other States have been formed from it?
3. Trace the routes to Oregon and California, 1850-1860.
4. Can you remember any organizations in the early Middle West somewhat similar to the California Vigilance Committees? Was there anything slightly like them in colonial times?
5. When a compromise is made, each side is supposed to gain *some* of its demands. In this Compromise of 1850 which points seem to you to favor the North? The South? Which side do you think gained most?
6. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun were all old men at the time of the Compromise of 1850. Discuss their services in class.
7. Trace the steps by which the boundary between the United States and Canada has been established.





A WELLS-FARGO EXPRESS COMPANY COACH in 1855 on the overland trail to California by way of Oregon. The peak in the distance is Mt. Shasta.

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 TO THE CIVIL WAR

I. GROWTH IN POPULATION AND WEALTH

The Mexican and Oregon cessions had nearly doubled our territory once more, giving us a total area of more than three million square miles. Between 1840 and 1860, our population, too, almost doubled, rising to 31,000,000.

The rapid growth was due partly to *increased immigration*. Ever since colonial times European immigrants had come to America at the rate of a few thousand a year. In 1842, for the first time, 100,000 immigrants came in a single year; and 300,000 came in 1850. In 1860 a sixth of our whole population was foreign born.

Most of the immigrants in the fifties were from *Ireland* and *Germany*. In Ireland the people were very unhappy under English rule. They wanted home rule — a government of their own. They also wanted to own their little

farms, instead of paying high rents to English landlords who increased the rents whenever the peasants improved their plots of ground. Such a system of "rack rents" made the people idle and lazy. They did not try to raise much but a few potatoes.

Then in the years 1846 and 1847 there was a complete failure of the potato crop. At the same time the price of bread was very high, because England had a high tariff on wheat to protect her farmers from foreign competition. There followed a dreadful famine in Ireland. England repealed her tariff (and ever since has been a "free-trade" country); but hundreds of thousands of the people of Ireland died of hunger before relief could reach them. It is no wonder that all who could do so escaped to the United States, where there were better chances to make a living and to rule themselves. *More than a million immigrants came from Ireland in the next ten years.* The deep hatred of England, which naturally filled their hearts, has affected our history ever since.

The people of Germany also had had several years of bad crops. Moreover, they had long been oppressed by tyrannical rulers. In 1848 they revolted and tried to set up a republic. When this revolt was crushed, thousands of them turned to America to find the freedom which they had been unable to gain in their own country.

Practically all European immigrants settled in the North, where labor was free. Most of them brought little with them except their ability to win their way by hard work, and they did not wish to go where the labor was performed by slaves. Moreover they had come to find liberty in a free country; and there had been no slaves even in the oppressed lands from which they had come.

The Irish immigrants furnished much of the labor which built the new cities and the thousands of miles of roads and railroads. Very largely they settled in the cities. Many of the Germans were skilled workmen, and so went to the



ST. ANTHONY FALLS IN THE MISSISSIPPI — where the great Minneapolis flour mills now stand. — A photo taken August 15, 1857; now in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.



PART OF THE MINNEAPOLIS MILLING DISTRICT TO-DAY. — A photo in 1925. The falls are tamed and harnessed.



TRAIN OF LOADED RED RIVER CARTS LEAVING THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN ST. PAUL IN 1857. — From the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. A glass shows that the building just beyond the street corner carries the sign SALOON, — one of the commonest signs then in any frontier town. These carts were made wholly of wood, — no iron bolt or nail anywhere, — and the creaking of their wheels could be heard for miles.

factory towns; but still larger numbers of them formed new farming communities in the West.

These immigrants contributed new customs and ideas to our civilization. Many of the Germans were well educated. They brought with them a deep love of music, and had ideas for the development of schools and universities which were in advance of ours at that time. They proved a pillar of strength to the North, too, in the war for the Union.

The Know Nothing Party. — There were some Americans who claimed to be afraid that so many immigrants would destroy our American life and customs. These people formed the "American Party" with the idea of keeping foreign-born citizens out of office. They soon gained the name "Know Nothings." Their organization was bound together in a secret society; and, when asked what they stood for, their answer was, "I know nothing." Nothing could be less truly "American" than such a *secret* political organization, and it disappeared after a few years.

The Northwest continued to grow more rapidly than the rest of the country. We have seen that Iowa and Wisconsin were made States before 1850, offsetting the slave States of Texas and Florida. Then, before 1860, the admission of California, Minnesota, and Oregon gave the free States an advantage over the South.

Minnesota is a good example of Western growth. When the Territory was organized in 1849, the population was less than 5000. A few trading posts and missions to the Indians were the only settlements. Eight years later, 23,000,000 acres of land had been ceded by the Sioux Indians and opened to settlers; a railroad had been built to the Mississippi; and a white population of 150,000 was ready for Statehood.

By 1860 about one sixth of our population lived in cities.
(Read over the statements about cities on pp. 98, 207, 275-6,

304.) New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans were the only places with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1850; but by 1860 Boston, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago had also reached that size, while New York was approaching a million. In 1840, Chicago had only 5000 inhabitants, living in rough wooden houses along unpaved streets which were knee-deep in mud in rainy weather. By 1860 it had a population of 109,000.

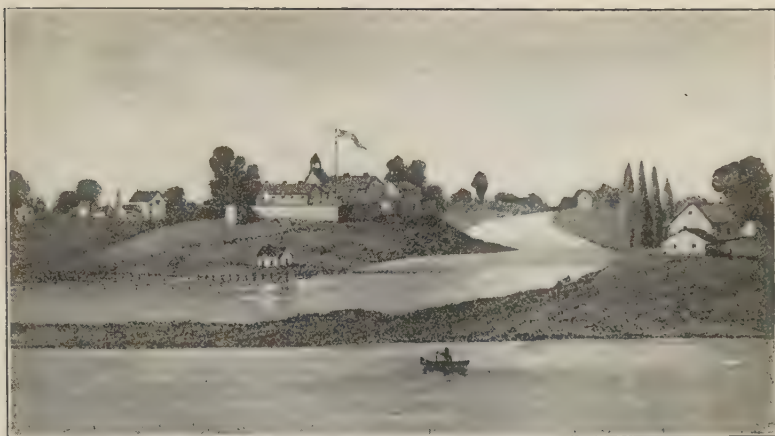
Those towns owed their growth largely to their favorable situation for trade. A good location for manufacturing (near water power) was also building up many other smaller cities in New England and in the Northwest.

The growing cities of the fifties were *beginning* to resemble those of our own day. Business streets were paved, and lighted with gas; street-car lines were installed, over which cars were drawn *by horses*; police and fire departments looked after the safety of the citizens.

Between 1850 and 1860, twenty thousand miles of railroad were built — mainly in the North (map after 432). Most of the lines ran east and west, and the produce of the Middle West was now carried chiefly to New York and Philadelphia by rail. (By what route did the farm produce of that Western country seek a market in 1830 and before? Do you think the fact that the main lines of trade now ran east and west would make any difference in the way the sections would line up in politics? Would it have any effect on the struggle with slavery? Look again at p. 330.)

Transportation to the Pacific West remained little changed. Most people still traveled the old trails in heavy covered wagons, taking three or four months from the Mississippi to the Western ocean. But a railroad across the Isthmus, with improved steamship connections at each end, was bringing that longer route somewhat more into favor.

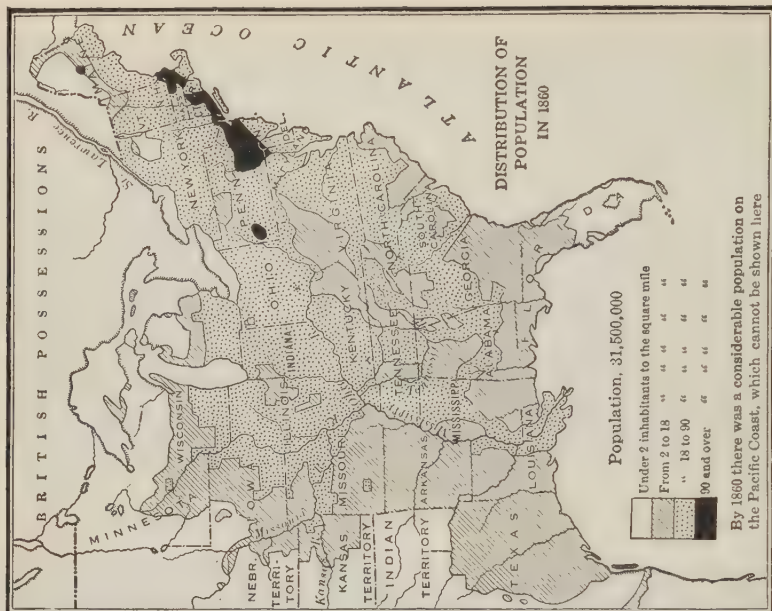
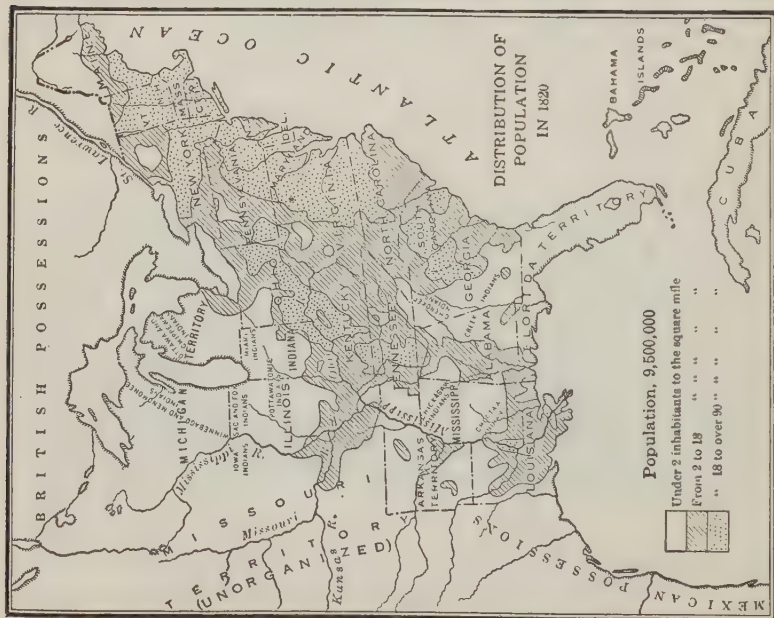
There had, however, been a great improvement in sending news. The daring and faithful riders of the famous "pony



CHICAGO (FORT DEARBORN) IN 1831. From a lithograph, based on a drawing of that year. Through the courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.



A FASHIONABLE NEW YORK STREET IN 1840. The church is St. Paul's, for two centuries a landmark in changing New York. Horse cars *on tracks* had not yet appeared, but were to do so soon. See the view of a Boston street in 1870 facing p. 430, and compare this view of New York with the one shown there.



express " galloped in relays from St. Joseph in Missouri (the western end of railroad and telegraph lines) to the Pacific, making the two thousand miles in ten days, — though the bodies of many missing riders were found pierced with Indian arrows or with the bullets of thieving "road agents." Eighty riders were at all times strung out along the far-stretching trail, — forty galloping westward; forty east. The lowest postage over the course was five dollars. The Wells-Fargo Company, which organized this service, ran coach lines also over parts of the course near the eastern and western ends (p. 355). And in 1861 *the first telegraph line to the Pacific was built*. (Cable communication *across the Atlantic* began just after the Civil War. See picture facing 411, and trace pony express route on map after p. 354.)

In 1857 business suffered a setback from one of our periodic panics, just twenty years after the great crisis of 1837. This time, however, the country recovered quickly, and business became "normal" once more before the close of the next year.

Our growing commerce was carried to Europe and the Far East in our own splendid fleets of swift-sailing clipper ships. This was the great day of our merchant marine, before Great Britain's new *steamship* lines captured the commerce of the seas from us.

We had had some trade with *China* ever since the Revolution (p. 213), though the Chinese preferred to have little to do with the rest of the world. Then in 1844 Caleb Cushing secured a treaty with China which opened Chinese ports more freely to American ships. And in 1854 *Commodore Perry* opened up trade with *Japan*.

Before this time Japan had refused to allow foreigners to enter her ports for any purpose. Perry really forced his way in against the will of the Japanese; but in the end a commercial treaty was signed with much ceremony and with exchange of gifts between the two nations.

Perry presented the Japanese government with rifles, muskets, swords, a telescope, four copies of Audubon's "Birds of America," eight baskets of potatoes, and various agricultural implements. Rails were set up on the shore, and a locomotive and coach were operated on them by the Americans, and presented to the Japanese. A telegraph apparatus was also set up and demonstrated, to the amazement of the Japanese officials. Japan then presented the Americans with rice, paper boxes, pieces of pongee and silk, three hundred chickens, twenty umbrellas, and thirteen dolls.

During these years of rapid growth for the North and West, **the South had remained almost stationary.** Immigration did not go to the South, and so population there grew slowly; manufactures did not develop there, and so very few cities grew up; and few railroads were built in that section. The South had forests, mines, and water-power, but those resources so far remained almost wholly untouched.

This difference between North and South was due partly to the fact that cotton raising was so profitable that most Southerners could not be induced to try anything else; but still more it was due to the fact that slave labor had not proved to be well adapted to any form of industry except agriculture. "The North," says the historian Rhodes, "combined the resources of farm, shop, and factory: *the South was but a farm.*"

On the surface, the Southern planters appeared to be prosperous, but in reality they were getting further into debt every year to the bankers of the North. Northern ships carried their cotton, and Northern merchants sold them the articles they needed. The only really valuable property of the Southerners were their slaves, of which they felt the Northern abolitionists were trying to rob them.

"Classes" in the South remained more distinct than in the changing North. Of course, not all Southerners were slave holders. Only one fifth of the white families owned

slaves, and most of these owned not more than one or two. Only a small group of *eight or ten thousand families* had more than fifty slaves apiece; but the members of this small aristocracy were the leaders and the real rulers of the South. They formed the opinions of the rest, and all important officials were chosen from this class.

The *large class of small farmers*, who owned no slaves, or only one or two to a family, had little hope of progress. Only the poorest land was left for them; and in the market they could not compete with the owners of large plantations. Dwellers in the remote mountain districts, especially, had little energy or ambition. They knew little of modern inventions: in their cabins the spinning wheel still hummed, and the dinner was still cooked before the open hearth. If the big planters had the best opportunities in the United States for education and for training in leadership, the small farmers of the South had the least.

The slaves themselves numbered about 4,000,000. As we have seen, their condition varied greatly. The laws of most Southern States forbade teaching a negro to read or write; but occasionally a kind master or mistress did give the household slaves some instruction. The churches saw to it, too, that the negroes had religious teaching. Sometimes they were allowed to sit in the gallery of the master's church, but they preferred a church of their own with a preacher of their own race. At least one negro church in the South owned its preacher, having raised the money to buy him.

II. THE STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY GROWS

**Was the Stationary South or the Progressive North
to Control the Union in the Matter of Slavery?**

For a while after 1850 most people hoped that North and South had settled their quarrels about slavery forever. **Then a number of things happened which showed**

that they could never really agree as long as slavery existed. The South, jealous of the wealth of the North, was determined to *extend* slavery into more territory. In the North, in spite of the abolitionists, most people wished still to forget about slavery—which, they said, was “a Southern problem.” *But they were not willing to have it extend into what had been free territory*—lest it might finally force its way to their own doors.

For a time the South was able to control the government. It was more earnestly united in feeling than the North, and it had abler leaders. From 1844 to 1860 every President was either a Southern man or a Southern sympathizer. To be sure, the South was disappointed in *General Zachary Taylor*, the hero of the Mexican War, whom the Whigs elected President in 1848. He was a Southerner, and owned many slaves; but he wanted to let California come in as a free State when its people decided for freedom. Taylor died before that question was settled, and the Vice-president, *Millard Fillmore*, took his place for the last three years of the term. Fillmore favored the Southern demands and worked for the Compromise of 1850.

Then in 1852 and 1856 the Democratic candidates, Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, were elected. They were both Northern men; but they favored allowing slavery in the Territories, and urged the North to stop agitating against it.

But the new Fugitive Slave Law would not let the North forget slavery. James Russell Lowell complained that they “tell us to stop agitating about slavery, when it is that which is forever agitating us.” The sight of United States officials driving bands of handcuffed negroes through the streets on their way to former owners in the South made the Northerners feel that the new law had brought slavery to their very doors.

The law gave the federal officers power to summon any

citizen to help capture a runaway, but as a rule the Northerners refused to give this help. Meetings of citizens passed resolutions against such a way of carrying out the law. A New York judge even refused to enforce it in his court, saying, "I will trample that law in the dust; and they must find another man, if there be one, who will disgrace himself to do this dirty work." And the gentle philosopher Emerson said in a public address: "The Fugitive Slave Act is a law which every one of you will break on the earliest occasion, — a law which no man can obey without forfeiting the name of gentleman."

Many Northerners even gave help to escaping slaves, although the law threatened anyone who did so with six months' imprisonment. For several years a few daring enemies of slavery had had a system called the **underground railroad**, for helping slaves to Canada, where, under English law, they became free. Now this organization expanded. Soon in every village of the North it had some "conductor," who could be trusted to hide the poor fugitives, feed them, and help them on their way. Caves, garrets, cellars, haylofts, hollow haystacks, — all served as hiding places from the pursuers and were "stations" on the underground railroad. Many kinds of disguises were adopted for the fugitives. They were carried from station to station late at night, or by day well hidden in loads of hay or straw. One fugitive was even shipped part of the way in a box with a few air holes in the top, which was marked "This side up with care"; but he nearly died because the freight handlers paid no attention to the label.

In some cases **mobs prevented the federal officials from carrying out the law.** In 1854 in Boston, where nearly twenty years before William Lloyd Garrison had been attacked for holding abolitionist meetings (p. 326), another mob now tried to rescue the fugitive negro, Anthony Burns, from Federal officials. Burns was finally carried back to

slavery, but at a cost of \$100,000 to the Federal government and by the use of a thousand soldiers and a battalion of artillery. The streets of Boston through which he was conducted by this army were draped in mourning.

Moreover, the North found that the law was dangerous to some of its own citizens. Sometimes *free* negroes were seized by disappointed slave hunters, or by other kidnappers, and carried off as slaves. They could not defend themselves, because, if a negro was *accused* of being a runaway slave, the law gave him no chance to testify or to call witnesses.

So Wisconsin nullified the Federal Act by passing *Personal Liberty Laws*, giving every man seized within the State as a runaway the right of a trial by jury, to decide whether or not he *was* a slave. Several other Northern States passed similar laws. Feeling became so bitter that it would really have been much better for the Southern cause if the Fugitive Slave Act had never been passed.

The writers of the North, too, resumed their attacks on slavery, and in 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was the most widely read book of its time. Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold, and the story was acted on the stage in every village of the North. The book presented the dark and cruel side of slavery, and the South complained bitterly that it was unfair. But the North was growing to feel that any institution which allowed such conditions *ever* to exist must be done away with.

Then in 1854 Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which repealed the *Missouri Compromise* of 1820. The new territory *in the Southwest* was not filling up very rapidly; but settlers *were* crowding out into the rich prairies of the Indian country west of Iowa and Missouri. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois now proposed that two Territories should be formed there, to be called Kansas and Nebraska, and that the settlers be allowed to decide whether or not

they wished to have slaves. That is, he proposed that *squatter sovereignty* should take the place of the Missouri Compromise in that region. The measure won by a close vote, in spite of a storm of protests from the North.

The enemies of Douglas charged that he suggested this plan because he wished to gain popularity with the Southern Democrats, and so perhaps become President. But no doubt he believed that this was a fair way of settling the matter. Many other Westerners agreed with him, because they liked any plan which seemed to leave the people a chance to settle their own affairs. But *this* plan gave slavery a new



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

chance *in territory that had been solemnly promised to freedom* as part of a former compromise. Moreover, as Lincoln urged, it was not true that the matter was being "left to the people most concerned," because the slaves were "the most concerned."

Recall the conditions under which the Missouri Compromise was passed. Do you see why anti-slavery men felt that the repeal of the Compromise was not the same thing as the repeal of an ordinary law?

Now began a race to get control of Kansas. Here the North had the advantage, for it was harder for a planter to move, with his slave "property," than it was for a Northern farmer. When the day came for Kansas to choose whether it should be slave or free, it was plain

that there were more free State than slave State men in the Territory. So the slave State men called in armed bands from across the border of Missouri. These Missourians marched from one polling place to another, casting their votes to make Kansas a slave State. Many more votes were cast for slavery than there were inhabitants!

The free State men refused to abide by this vote. **Then came a period of strife and bloodshed.** Two governments were formed, each claiming to be the choice of the people, and they made real war on each other. The United States army was sent out "to keep order," but really was used by both President Pierce and President Buchanan to support the slave State government. Finally, however, it became so plain that the free State men were in a great majority that both sides in Kansas agreed upon a free State constitution. Still Buchanan and the Senate refused to admit Kansas with such a constitution, and the question remained unsettled until 1861.

Meantime, out of this Kansas-Nebraska trouble grew a **new national party.** The Democratic party had now become definitely pro-slavery, and the Whigs were trying to keep the question of slavery out of politics. A *Liberty Party* and afterward a *Free Soil Party* had been formed in the forties by men who wished to stop the extension of slavery; but these parties never secured many members. Now Northern anti-slavery men from all the old parties joined together to form a *new third party.* At first they had merely called themselves "Anti-Nebraska" men, but in 1854 they took the name *Republican.*

Then one more thing happened to show the need of such a new party. This was **the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.**

Dred Scott had been carried by his master some years earlier from Missouri into free territory where slavery was

forbidden. When he was taken back again to the South he claimed that he had been made free by living in free territory. But the Supreme Court decided that since Scott was a slave he had no right to bring a case in the courts at all, and that *no negro could have any of the rights of a citizen*. Then the Chief Justice went on to say that a



"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CALLING ON ITS CANDIDATE" (Fremont). — A Whig cartoon in 1856, the first presidential election in which the new party took part. The old conservative parties then liked to poke fun at it as made up of cranks, — the negro asking equal rights; the ragged communist demanding the division of all property; "Fanny Bloomer" in "reformed" dress, smoking and calling for "votes for women"; the good gentleman in the rear asking a prohibition law; and so on. The candidate is represented as saying, "All your requests shall be granted." It is interesting to think how many of them have been.

master could take slaves into *any* territory belonging to the United States, and that *neither Congress nor the people of a Territory had the right to make laws against slavery*. Only a *State could make laws against slavery* — and of course only to apply within its own borders.

The Southern Democrats joyfully called upon the North to accept this decision as "the law of the land." But the Republicans continued to make the prohibition of slavery

in the Territories a part of their platform — though of course they were accused by their opponents of trying to overthrow the Constitution. *Abraham Lincoln* now came forward as one of the leaders of the new party. Said he: "We offer no *resistance* to the Dred Scott decision; but we think it is erroneous, and we shall do what we can to have it overruled." (Who could "overrule" a Supreme Court decision?)

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. — In 1858 Lincoln and Douglas were both candidates for the Senate from the State of Illinois. Douglas, the Democratic candidate, was well known throughout the country for his eloquence. In the Senate he had won the title "Little Giant" because of his small stature and his powerful oratory. He was now trying to support at the same time the Dred Scott decision, which was popular in the South, and squatter sovereignty, which was popular in Illinois.

In the course of the campaign Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates. Lincoln had not been well known before, outside of Illinois, but these debates made him famous. Men followed the two speakers from town to town, and the crowds were so large that the meetings had to be held out of doors.

At a great meeting in Freeport, Lincoln forced Douglas to choose between squatter sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision — which, of course, *contradicted* each other. (Squatter sovereignty said that the people of a *territory* could legislate against slavery if they wished. The Dred Scott decision said that slave owners could carry their property anywhere in the national domain, and that *only States* could legislate against slavery.)

Douglas won the election in Illinois by standing, rather shakily, for squatter sovereignty. But this lost him the support of the South, and so his chance to become President two years later, as Lincoln saw it would. More than

that, it turned many Northern Democrats against the Dred Scott decision.

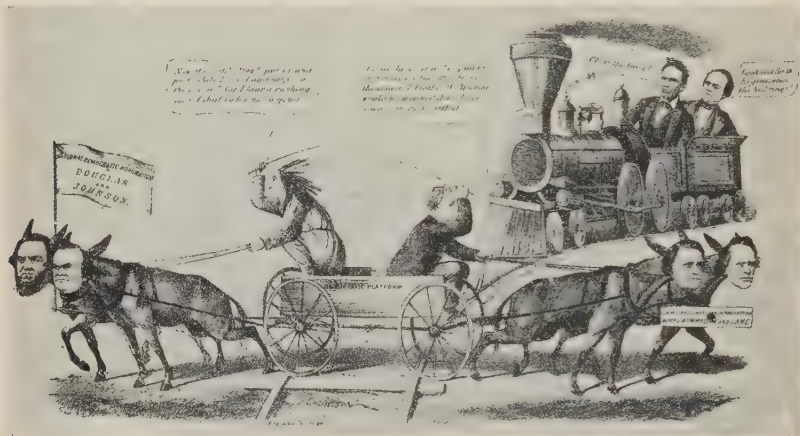
And though the people of Illinois were not quite ready to accept Lincoln's views in 1858, his speeches made them think about slavery as they never had before. He stood firm in the belief that slavery was morally wrong. Said he, "It is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face since the beginning of time, and which will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of all humanity ; the other is the divine right of kings. Slavery is the spirit that says, '*You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.*' No matter in what shape it comes, it is the same tyrannical principle."

And in the following words he forewarned his countrymen of the trouble that was approaching: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot exist *permanently* half slave and half free. I do not expect this Union to be dissolved ; I do not expect the house to fall ; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry now added to the bitter feeling between North and South. John Brown was a sturdy frontiersman, used to action, not to politics. His hatred for slavery had finally led him to think himself appointed by heaven to blot it out. In Kansas he and his seven sons had been leaders in the fight for a free State. Now in 1859 he planned to free all slaves by starting a general uprising. His small force seized the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in Virginia, to get arms for the slaves, but he was captured there after a sturdy resistance. The government gave him a speedy trial, and hanged him for insurrection.

An insurrection of armed slaves would have been frightful.

The South was struck with horror at the thought of what had threatened them. Northerners, too, condemned Brown's *methods*; but they were surprised to find how much they sympathized with his desire to free the slaves, and they admired the calmness and courage with which he went to his death. Horace Greeley wrote of him and his men: "They dared and died for what they believed to be right, though in a manner which seems to us fatally wrong."



PROSPECT OF DEMOCRATIC SMASH-UP. — A Republican cartoon in the campaign of 1860. The faces of the mules are caricatures of the candidates on the two Democratic tickets. Lincoln (in the cab of the locomotive) is represented without the beard you see in most of his pictures. He wore none until after this election.

Then came the elections of 1860. The Whig party, which had tried to dodge the question of slavery, was already quite dead. The old Democratic party now split into two branches, the Northern standing for squatter sovereignty, and the Southern for the Dred Scott decision. Each of these branches had its own candidate, — which left neither of them much chance.

The Republican party *opposed the extension of slavery and declared the Dred Scott decision wrong.* The Republicans won many votes in the East by standing also for a return to a

protective tariff, and in the West by promising a *Homestead Law*. (This would allow men who settled on government land to have 160 acres *free*, provided they improved it sufficiently. Buchanan had just vetoed such a bill. Why did slaveholders oppose it?)

Lincoln was the Republican candidate. Many leading Southerners threatened to secede from the Union altogether if he were elected. They claimed to believe that the Republicans were trying to do away with slavery *in the States* as well as in the Territories. There had been so many threats of secession which had come to nothing that the people of the North hardly thought there was any real danger this time. But when Lincoln was elected, *secession* did begin — with the *withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union*.

FURTHER READINGS

The growing misunderstanding between the North and the South during this period is discussed in Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* and *Expansion and Conflict*; Hart, *Romance of the Civil War*, and *Source Book*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People* and *Men Who Made the Nation*. Good accounts of the early life of Lincoln, and of his services before he was elected President, are given in McMurry, *Pioneers in the Mississippi Valley*; Southworth, *Builder of Our Country*; and Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*; as well as in biographies of Lincoln, such as those by Brooks, Helen Nicolay, and Wheeler.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Compare the motives of the Irish and German immigrants of 1850 with those of the early English colonists.
2. Under the heading *Negro Slavery in the United States* in your notebooks review the chief points in the history of slavery.
3. Why did the South forbid teaching slaves to read?
4. Why did *Uncle Tom's Cabin* do more to arouse feeling against slavery than all the eloquent arguments in Congress and in abolitionist papers?

5. Hart's *Source Book* and *Romance of the Civil War* give stories of Fugitive-Slave cases. Let students report on them.

6. By 1860 the *three* sections of 1830 had become *two* sections: the North and the South. How did this happen?

7. Continue your table of Presidents from 1844 (p. 341) to 1860.

8. Draw on the board a time line to indicate the period from 1790 to 1860. Below the line, mark for the right years the most important inventions in industry and transportation. Above the line, mark the most important political events.

9. Make a table for the admission of new States down to 1861, with date for each, and statement whether slave or free. Correct your table by referring to maps facing 219, 307, 354, and 376.



HARPERS FERRY TO-DAY.



LINCOLN READING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION TO HIS CABINET.

It is done!

Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.

How the belfries rock and reel!

How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

It is done!

In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.

It shall bid the sad rejoice,

• It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

— WHITTIER.

CHAPTER XXIV

CIVIL WAR

I. THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY

Secession. — The Convention of South Carolina declared that State “a free and independent nation,” on December 17, 1860 — less than six weeks after Lincoln’s election. Before his inauguration in March, six more States seceded, — Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. (These were often spoken of together as “the Cotton States.”)

The South held an entirely different idea of the meaning of the Constitution from that held by the North. Calhoun and Hayne, thirty years before, had argued that the Constitution was a *compact*, or bargain, *between sovereign States*, and that any State had a *right* to withdraw from the Union

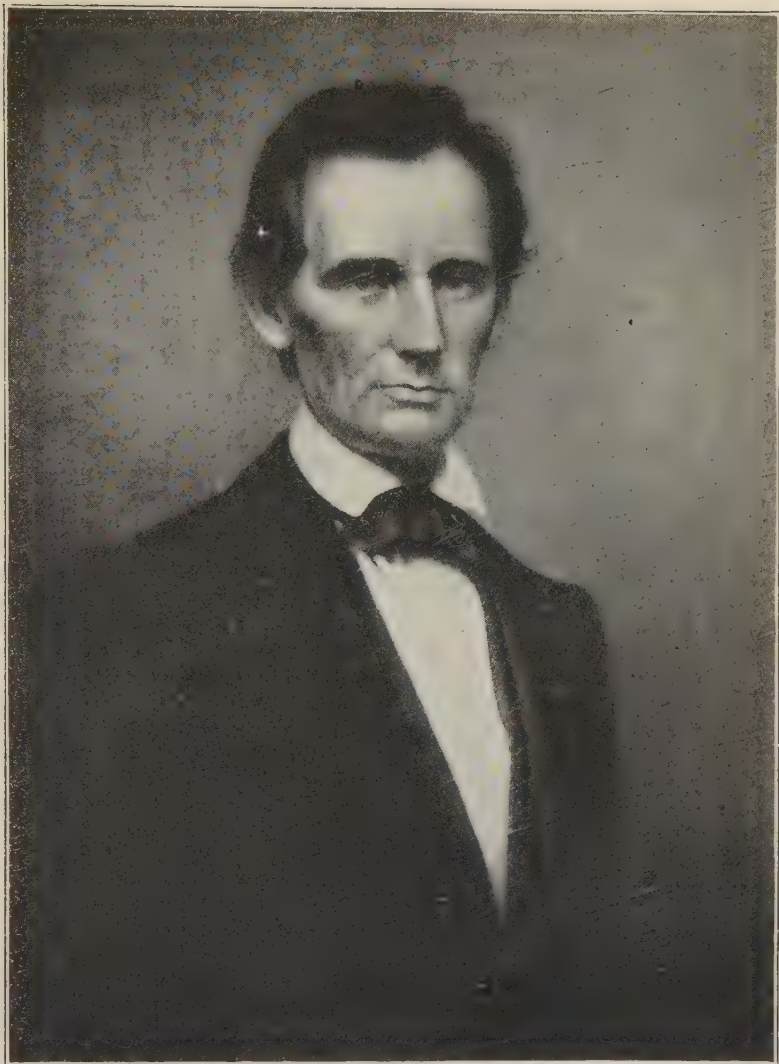
at will. Southerners had clung to that theory ever since. Even those who did not now think it *wise* to secede, did, almost to a man, think it *right*. When a State convention voted to secede, *all* the citizens felt they would be "traitors" *to their State* if they did not support the movement.

The North, on the other hand, had generally accepted the theory which Webster had stated so eloquently, — that the Constitution was a system of government for the *people of a single nation*. According to this view, no State could possibly have a constitutional right to secede; and those who supported such a movement would be "traitors" *to the Nation*.

But the Southerners were much better agreed in their opinions than the Northerners were. President Buchanan, the head of the government, did not believe that the States had the right to secede; *but he did not believe either that he had authority to keep them from doing so*. And for a time a great many people in the North seemed to agree with him. Even many of the old Abolitionists, and some leading Republicans like Horace Greeley said that they did not want "to live in a republic pinned together with bayonets," and that, since the Southern States *had* seceded, the only thing to do was to let them go.

The Southern Confederacy. — Meantime the seceding States took swift action. They knew that they must have some union; and on February 4, 1861 (a month before Lincoln's inauguration) they sent delegates to a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, where they drew up a constitution for "The Confederate States of America."

The Confederacy then elected *Jefferson Davis* of Mississippi President, and made *Alexander H. Stephens* Vice President. Davis had held important offices in the government of the United States and had always stood firmly for what he believed to be the rights of the South. Stephens was a citizen



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Copyright, 1924, by Geo. W. Hance.

February 27, 1860, Lincoln made his famous Cooper Union Address in New York — which, it is sometimes said, really won him the presidential nomination a few months later. This photo (an ambrotype) was taken just after the speech. In all later pictures, a beard partly hides the charm of the face. Mrs. Lincoln always treasured this photo as the best likeness of her husband. Strangely enough, it has never been available for publication until a few months ago.

From LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1861.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. Intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? . . .

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have a most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

of Georgia, and had done all he could to keep that State from seceding ; but when he was outvoted, he sadly " went with his State."

Meantime, several attempts were made to arrange a compromise. But there were some points which neither side was willing to yield. The Republicans, led by Lincoln, refused to consent to *any further extension of slavery*. The Southern leaders insisted that it must be protected wherever the flag floated. So compromise failed.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Lincoln's inaugural address (March 4, 1861) was a ringing declaration that the Union could not be broken, and that he intended to enforce its laws in all the States. However, he assured the Southerners that he did not mean " to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists," and he tried to convince them that they could gain no real advantage from destroying the Union.

Fort Sumter. — As soon as a State had seceded, its statesmen and generals had left their offices in Washington or with the army, and had gone to offer their services to their own State. Each seceding State had organized its own army and had taken possession of all Federal forts and arsenals within its borders. There had been no bloodshed, because Buchanan had made no effort to hold these places.

But Major Anderson in command of Fort Sumter (on an island in the harbor of Charleston) had refused to surrender it to South Carolina until positively ordered to do so by the

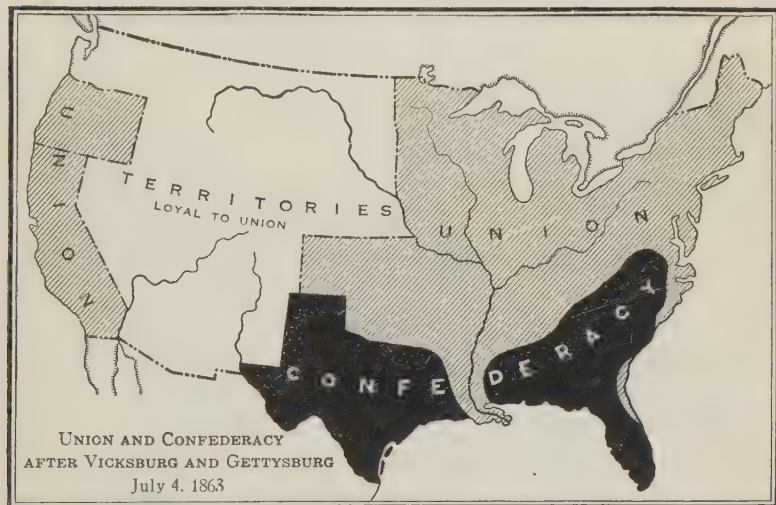
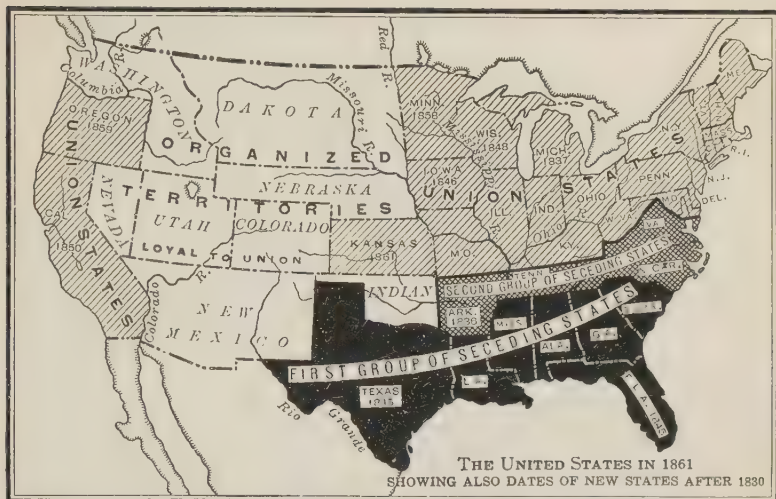
government at Washington. A part of Buchanan's Cabinet had been in favor even of giving that order; but the final decision had been not to recall Major Anderson. It was one thing to permit an unresisting fort to be taken: it was a different thing to order a brave officer to surrender a fort that he was willing to defend. When, however, after months of hesitation, an *unarmed* ship was sent South carrying needed supplies for the little garrison, it was fired on by South Carolina forts as it entered the harbor, and was compelled to turn back without landing its cargo.

Soon after his inauguration, therefore, Lincoln received word from Anderson that he could not hold out much longer without supplies. Lincoln prepared to send them; but the Confederates at Charleston did not wait for them to arrive. On April 12, 1861, South Carolina began to bombard the fort. Two days later, with ammunition gone and the fort in ruins, Anderson was forced to surrender.

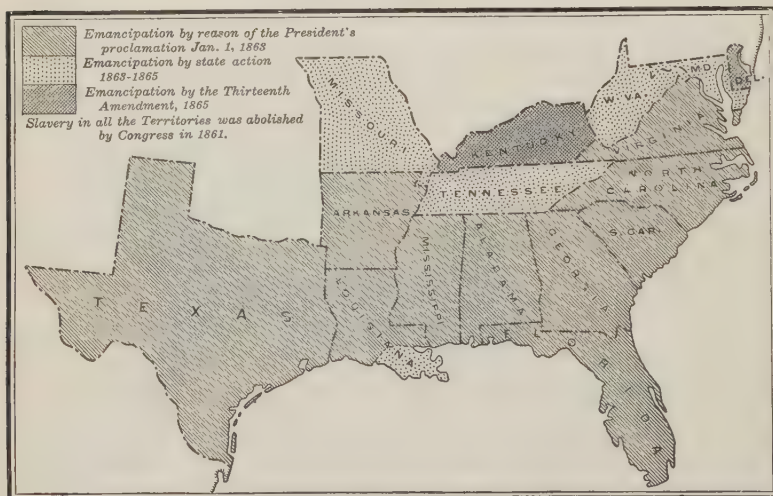
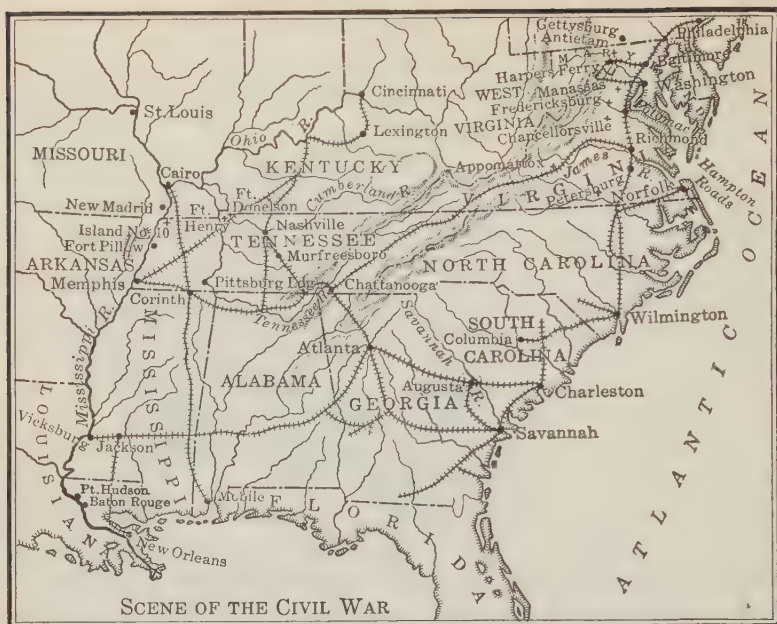
The firing on the flag at Fort Sumter "brought the North to its feet as one man." On April 5, President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and from every Northern State men flocked to the defense of the Union — until ninety thousand had gathered in Washington.

This same call, however, was the signal for four more States to secede: *Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia* (the "second tier" of slave States) joined the Confederacy, rather than take arms "to coerce sister States" to come back into the Union.

The Border States. — The other four slave States — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri — decided to stay with the Union. The western counties of Virginia also refused to give their allegiance to the Confederacy, and were later recognized as the *separate* State of *West Virginia*. In all these "border States," however, feeling was much divided. In fact in Missouri it took several months of



See pages 377, 382–383, 389–390.



fighting to decide which way the State should go. And from each border State, thousands of Confederate sympathizers went to join the Southern armies.

The Union and Confederacy Compared. — From the beginning, the Southerners felt sure of victory. They had not thought it likely that the North would use force against them at all. In any case, they had been making preparations and collecting supplies for months, while Buchanan's government had been sitting with folded hands. Many of the ablest generals in the American army, too, were Southerners, and had now offered their services to the Confederacy. (Even Major Anderson did so. He had been true to his duty as a soldier while he held a commission from the United States; but after the fight at Fort Sumter was over, he felt free to resign that commission.) Then too the Southerners were an out-door people, accustomed to firearms and fitted to endure camp life. They fancied, at least, that their Northern foes, coming from the shop and factory, would have slim chance against them in the field. It was a common boast that "one Southerner could whip five Yankees."

But in numbers and wealth, the North had a tremendous advantage. Twenty-four States, counting West Virginia and Kansas (which was admitted as a free State in 1861), stayed with the Union; while the Confederacy had only eleven. (Map facing p. 376.) The Union States had twenty-two million *white* inhabitants while the Confederacy had only a little more than five million — not quite one to four.

To be sure, the South had also four million slaves. These tilled the fields and raised food crops for the South — so that nearly all its white men could fight. But, to offset this, the North could produce much more rapidly than the South, because it had learned to do its work with machines. The Secretary of War said in 1861: "The reaper is to the North what slavery is to the South. By taking the places of regi-

ments of young men in the Western harvest fields, it releases them to do battle for the Union at the front."

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the North over the South was the fact that it was able to produce practically everything it needed. The South must supply its needs from the outside world in exchange for its cotton. The Confederacy at first did not realize how hard this was going to be.

II. THE FIRST TWO YEARS

At the beginning, both sides hoped for only a short war. President Lincoln's first call was for men to serve *three months*. But the conflict lasted for four long years, and was the most tremendous struggle the world had ever seen up to that time.

The South was fighting to gain its own independence, — not to conquer the North ; so its plan of war was mostly defensive. But *the North could win only by invading the South* so as to force it to obey the laws of the Union.

There were four parts of the Northern plan : (1) to blockade Southern ports, so as to shut out supplies from the outside world ; (2) to cripple and discredit the Confederacy by capturing its capital, which had been placed at Richmond in Virginia, quite near Washington ; (3) to cut the Confederacy in two parts, East and West, by getting control of the Mississippi — pushing down from the North and up from the Gulf ; and (4) to split up the Eastern and more important part still further by getting control of the railroads between the Mississippi and the mountains.

Notice (map facing p. 377) that the whole South was *naturally* divided into two parts by the Alleghenies. Do you think this an advantage or disadvantage to the invaders? Why? Locate Washington and Richmond. What navigable rivers besides the Mississippi do you think could be used profitably to invade the South? Can you see any railroad lines in that map which the Northern armies would especially wish to control?

The Blockade. — While the troops on both sides were gathering, Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring all Southern ports “blockaded.” At first this was only a *paper blockade* (p. 252), for the United States navy was too small and too much scattered all over the world to put it into effect. But the Navy Department set to work at once buying and building ships and converting small coasting steamers and excursion boats into gunboats; and in a few months the blockade became real.

In 1860 the value of the cotton exported by the South was \$202,000,000; in 1862 it was only \$4,000,000. And articles which the South depended on getting from the outside became very scarce. Besides clothing, arms, and munitions, the people were in want of necessities like salt, butter, coffee, candles, and medicines. There was little money to buy them, since cotton could not be sold; and, when any were bought, it was hard to get them past the blockade. They could be brought in only by the *blockade runners*, — narrow, swift, lead-colored ships which slipped in and out of the Southern ports at night in the hope of escaping the notice of the Union blockading squadrons. The risk was great, and many hundreds of these vessels were captured; but a blockade runner which succeeded in landing its cargo did make enormous profits. Before the end of the war a ton of salt, costing \$7.50 outside the Confederacy, could be sold inside in gold for a profit of 20,000 per cent. (Would a blockade of *Northern* ports have had the same effect? Why?)

The Monitor and the Merrimac. — The South made one bold attempt to break the blockade. When Virginia had seceded, the Federal troops had abandoned the government navy yard at *Norfolk*, partly destroying and sinking the frigate *Merrimac* when they left. The Confederates now raised her and built on her hull an iron roofing with sloping sides. They renamed her the *Virginia*, and sent her out to destroy the wooden frigates of the United States navy.

In the harbor of *Hampton Roads* this first American iron-clad sank two towering ships of war (March 8, 1862), ramming them with her iron prow while their shells glanced like hail from her sides. She expected to destroy the rest of the Union fleet there the next day. But during the night another strange-looking iron vessel appeared in the harbor. This was the *Monitor*, designed by Captain John Ericsson, and sent out by our government just in time to thwart the plans of the *Virginia*. The *Monitor* had a *low flat deck*, above which rose a *revolving iron turret* armed with two huge guns, — a “cheese box on a raft.” The two iron-clads bombarded each other the entire morning. The *Monitor* could move into shallows where the larger and heavier vessel could not come to ram her; and finally the battered *Virginia* withdrew. The blockade was saved — but no future blockade could ever be held by wooden ships of war.

While the Union *navy* was cutting off the supplies of the Confederacy by the blockade, the Union *armies* in the East were making unsuccessful attempts to seize Richmond.

Bull Run. — As the regiments of Federal volunteers came pouring into Washington early in the summer of 1861, the whole North was confident that Richmond would be taken and the war over in a few months. But in the first serious engagement, at *Bull Run*, the half-trained troops fled in confusion back to Washington; and the members of Congress and their wives, who had driven out to view the scene from the surrounding hills, joined in the hasty retreat. This defeat taught the North that the war was no holiday affair. Congress now called for *half a million troops* to serve for *three years*, and settled down in dead earnest. (The Battle of Bull Run was fought to get control of Manassas Junction near by. Do you see why both armies wanted that place?)

The Union armies in the East continued to suffer defeats through 1862, though the winter of 1861 was spent in



Brady Photograph.

THE CONFEDERATE BLOCKADE RUNNER, *TEAZER*, as photographed near Charleston Harbor shortly before her capture.



MONITOR AND MERRIMAC. — From a painting.



Brady Photograph.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND GENERAL McCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM shortly after the battle.



CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH.

organizing and drilling them. The Union generals proved unequal to the task of taking Richmond. On the other hand, the opposing Confederate leaders — “*Stonewall*” *Jackson*, *Joseph E. Johnston*, and *Robert E. Lee*, — had been three of the ablest generals in the American armies before the war. Lee had been offered the command of the Union armies, but he had felt that it would be wrong not to follow his State, Virginia, when she seceded. During the entire summer of 1862, these men, with smaller forces, kept the Union generals from carrying out their plans and defeated them in several battles—forcing them back on Washington.

Then in September, 1862, Lee even carried the war into the North. But he was repulsed in his turn. He believed that the sight of the Confederate armies would lead the people of Maryland to join the Confederacy, and perhaps the danger would drive the wealthy merchants of Philadelphia and New York to demand peace. But Maryland remained faithful to the Union, and Lee’s army was turned back at *Antietam Creek* by Union troops under General McClellan. The Union however suffered greater losses in the battle than the Confederacy, and McClellan did not try to follow Lee’s retreating army.

When active fighting stopped in the East for the winter of 1862, neither side had made any permanent gains. But west of the mountains, the Union forces had made decided advance.

Grant’s Victories in Tennessee. — In the West, the Confederacy was guarding the rivers and railroads by which the North might invade, and it had built *Forts Henry* and *Donelson*, twelve miles apart, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, to protect that important “gateway” to the South. Early in the spring of 1862, *General Ulysses S. Grant* captured these forts, with all their guns and ammunition and their 14,000 men. This double victory (the first real Union success in the War) made it possible also for Union

forces to take *Nashville* and to gain control of all western Tennessee as far south as *Memphis*.

Early in April another hard-won victory by Grant near *Pittsburg Landing* (often called the *Battle of Shiloh*) forced the Southern armies to withdraw up the river to *Chattanooga*. This left all but the southeastern corner of the State in Union hands. But during the two days' fighting at Shiloh the Confederates had lost 11,000 men and the Union army 13,000. Only the prompt arrival of reinforcements had saved Grant's army from destruction. No battle in our earlier history had seen such numbers killed.



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The heaviest loss to the South was the death of their commander, *Al-*

bert Sydney Johnston, one of the ablest generals America has produced. Toward the close of the first day, Johnston's leg was carried away by a cannon ball, but he ordered the surgeons to attend first to other wounded soldiers near him, and refused attention for himself so long that he finally bled to death.

The Union Gains on the Mississippi. — Meantime Union gunboats and armies were pushing slowly down the Mississippi, capturing the Confederate fortifications as far south as *Vicksburg*. But the greatest blow to the South during 1862

was the capture of *New Orleans* by a Union fleet from the Gulf, commanded by *David G. Farragut*, — a Southern man who had remained loyal to the United States.

The Union then controlled all the Mississippi except a strip from Port Hudson to Vicksburg. This was a very important strip, however, for it gave the southeastern States a chance to get vast supplies of grain, horses, and cattle from Texas and Arkansas, and even to bring in arms and ammunition from Mexico.

Then in the fall, just as Lee was invading Maryland, the Confederate General Bragg invaded Kentucky. He hoped, as Lee did in Maryland, that the people of the invaded State would welcome a Confederate army. He also hoped to frighten the Union forces so that they would give up their gains in Tennessee in order to defend Kentucky and the North. He was quickly defeated, however, and driven back to the southeastern corner of Tennessee.

War to Save the Union Becomes War to Free the Slaves

At the beginning, the North was fighting to save the Union, and not, directly, to end slavery. Lincoln hated slavery, but he did not believe that because he was President he had any right to interfere with it in the States where it existed under the Constitution. His great task was to save the Union. He had written early in 1862: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because it helps to save the Union."

But as time went on, it became plain that the slaves were a great help to the South in carrying on the war. Besides raising food and cotton, they drove baggage trains and dug trenches and did much other work which in the Northern armies had to be done by soldiers.

So on September 22, just after Antietam, Lincoln warned the seceded States that if they did not return to the Union by January 1, their slaves would be declared free. None of those States paid any attention to the warning; **and on New Year's Day of 1863 Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation**, which declared that *all slaves in the States or parts of States which were then making war against the Union should be freed*. (Turn back to the picture on p. 373.)

Lincoln issued this Proclamation, not because he was President of the United States, but because he was Commander-in-chief of its armies. It was a measure to force the enemy to submit, just as the blockade was. Do you think it would be easier or harder to enforce than the blockade? Why? How did it affect the slaves at the moment in parts of the South which were still in control of the Confederacy? Would it affect them more, later on? (See map, p. 377.)

The Proclamation gained for the Union cause the support and sympathy of all men everywhere who were opposed to slavery. The abolitionists, who cared little about a war to keep the slave States in the Union, now joined wholeheartedly in the cause of the North. Thousands of slaves escaped through the lines to become free men. From them, and from the free blacks of the North, many negro regiments were formed, which fought bravely in the Northern armies. But the great mass of slaves in the districts not actually occupied by Union armies remained faithful to their old masters to the end of the war.

The effect of the Emancipation Proclamation on our relations with Europe was especially important. At the beginning of the war, the South had hoped that England and France would be friendly to her cause. England's great cloth manufacture could not go on without "King Cotton,"

and seven eighths of the world's supply had been coming from the South. So the South felt sure that England would help break the blockade. For a little while, it looked as if this might happen.

England, though it had a much freer government than during our Revolution, had not yet become at all the democracy that it is now. Even the First Reform Bill (p. 312) had given the vote to only one man out of six, and, during our war, the big landowners and the merchants and manufacturers still controlled the English government. The landowners admired the planters of the South as members of an aristocracy much like their own; while the rich merchants and factory owners wanted to go on buying enormous quantities of cotton at low prices. So all these *governing classes* inclined to favor the South.

In the first year of the war, too, something had happened to cause hard feeling between England and the Union. Two Southern commissioners to European countries had escaped through the blockade to the West Indies. There they embarked for England on the British mail steamer *Trent*. From this ship they were seized by an American battleship.

Great Britain was very indignant, and actually began to prepare for war, — though Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert tried hard to keep peace. Finally President Lincoln and Mr. Seward (our Secretary of State) gave up the commissioners, and stated that the American officer had acted without authority. In his official note, Seward said truly, — “We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted that all nations ought to do to us.” (What did Seward mean? Why was it right to give up the commissioners?)

The next summer, another difficulty had arisen between us and England. The Confederacy, desperately eager to break the blockade, had ordered some cruisers from an English

ship-building firm. The most famous of these was the *Alabama*. Charles Francis Adams, our minister to England,



WILLIAM H. SEWARD. — An engraving from a photo. The Eastern Republicans had wanted Seward for President, instead of Lincoln. For a time, Seward was inclined to think himself superior to the "raw Westerner," but soon he became Lincoln's loyal supporter.

warned the English government that this cruiser was being built for the Confederacy; but the government was so slow about investigating the matter that the ship was launched just before the order came to stop it.

The *Alabama* became a terror to Northern commerce for two years. She captured over sixty merchant vessels, with cargoes worth more than \$7,000,000. Many of these she burned at sea, since she could not safely take them into any port; but her brave commander was always careful of the life and comfort of

captured sailors and passengers. Finally in 1864 the *Alabama* was sunk off the coast of France by the Federal *Kearsarge*. Meanwhile, Mr. Adams induced the English government to act in time to stop the escape of two *iron-clads*, with which the South had hoped to break the blockade.

But though the aristocratic English government had given us much cause for offense, *the workers of England had from the beginning sympathized strongly with the North*. These workmen and their families were suffering cruelly because the closing of the big cotton mills had put them out of work. But in spite of this, they held great mass meetings to vote

resolutions supporting the cause of the North. They felt it to be the cause of free labor everywhere.

Napoleon III, then ruler of France, had wanted to recognize the Confederacy, and more than once invited England to join him in doing so. But this splendid feeling of the English working classes was so strong that (even though that class had no vote as yet) the English government had declined the French invitations. *And after it became clear that the Union was fighting slavery, no European government wished to come out openly against us.*

The Thirteenth Amendment. — The matter of slavery, however, was not fully disposed of until after the end of the war. To be sure, even before the Proclamation, Congress had freed all slaves in the Territories and in the District of Columbia. (The new Judges of the Supreme Court whom Lincoln had appointed were ready to approve this and to “repeal” the Dred Scott Decision against this power of Congress.) Then in 1864, Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri abolished slavery; and toward the close of the war it was done away with by new Union State governments in those parts of Tennessee and Louisiana to which the Proclamation had not applied. But to wind up the whole thing was the work of the Thirteenth Amendment, which was not ratified until the closing days of 1865. It was this Amendment that abolished slavery in Delaware and in Kentucky, besides forbidding it *in future* anywhere in the United States.

III. THE TURNING POINT: 1863

Now we turn back to the war in the East, where we left it at Antietam (p. 381). President Lincoln and other Northern leaders were bitterly disappointed that no attempt was made to capture or destroy Lee's army on its retreat. So the cautious McClellan was removed from the command. But the generals who took his place, one after another in swift succession during the next year and a half, were no more successful than he had been in their

attempts on Richmond — though some of them did sacrifice tens of thousands of lives in their campaigns.

Chancellorsville. — Over and over again, Lee outgeneraled the Union commanders. Lee was a genius: the Union generals were brave and faithful soldiers, without any extraordinary ability. Most of the time Lee was outnumbered at least two to one; but he usually managed to bring as many men into an engagement as his opponents, and to inflict much heavier loss. Finally (May, 1863), he daringly took the offensive and won his last great victory in a bloody three-day battle at *Chancellorsville* over "Fighting Joe Hooker," with a loss of 12,000 dead to 17,000 on the Union side. This Confederate success, however, was lessened by the death of Stonewall Jackson, who in the dusk of evening, rode too far to the front and was fatally wounded by a volley from his own men.

Gettysburg. — Lincoln had been casting about desperately for a real military leader for the army of the Potomac — so far without success. And many Northerners were beginning to say that the South could not be conquered. But the strength of the Confederacy was running low, drained by its losses, while the North's greater resources were hardly touched. So Lee seized the chance that the victory of Chancellorsville gave him to try one more desperate stroke — which nearly won.

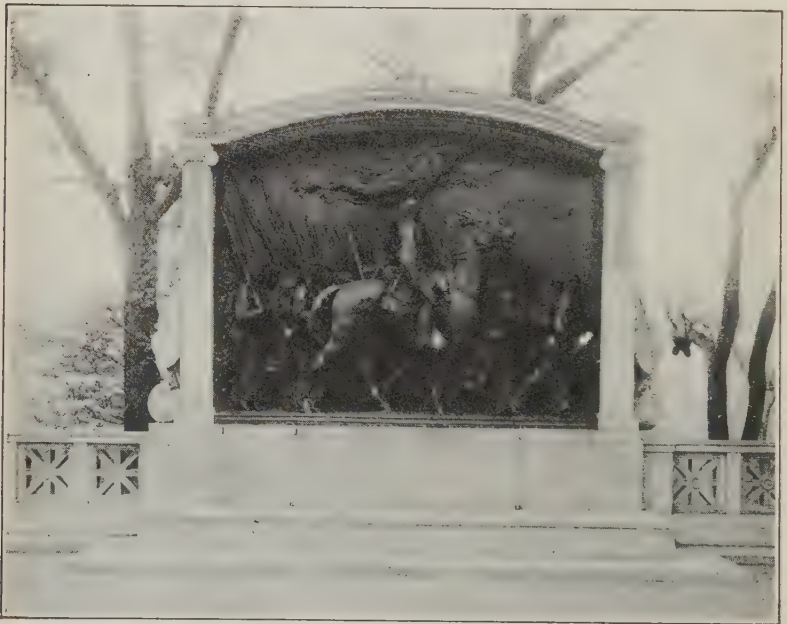
Lee collected eighty thousand veterans, though he had to strip Richmond of defense to do so. Leaving behind him the demoralized Union armies, he marched swiftly up the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Potomac, and invaded Pennsylvania. The Northern cities were paralyzed with fear. But Lincoln now placed *General Meade* in command of the Union armies. Meade hurried northward to stop the invasion, with forces much larger than Lee's army. On July 1, Unionists and Confederates met near the little town of



THE LAST MEETING OF ROBERT E. LEE AND "STONEWALL" JACKSON — Jackson was known as "Lee's right hand." He was devoutly religious, with a stern Puritanism, and was accustomed to kneel in prayer before battle.



A HOSPITAL OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION at Georgetown, near Washington. — From *Leslie's Weekly* of July 6, 1861. This was one of the first of the War Hospitals.



THE MEMORIAL TO ROBERT T. SHAW AND HIS MEN — standing on the edge of Boston Common opposite the State House. The youthful hero, from one of Boston's old families, raised the first regiment of negro volunteers. Soon after, in 1863, he fell, at the head of his troops, in a gallant but unsuccessful attack upon the Confederate forts in Charleston Harbor.

Gettysburg in southern Pennsylvania; and, after three days of the most desperate fighting of the war, Lee was turned back into Virginia, followed slowly by Meade. Both armies were exhausted. Together they had lost nearly 40,000 men.

The decisive point in the battle — and in the war — came on the third day. By Lee's orders, General Pickett led his brigade of fifteen thousand Virginians in a splendid charge up Cemetery Ridge upon the Union guns. With a front a mile long, the cheering Virginians swept forward,



A CIVIL WAR "AMBULANCE."

while Union cannon tore frightful gaps in their lines. They reached the summit itself, and planted their flag there; but, at the mouths of the Union batteries, they were met, hand to hand, with cold steel and clubbed muskets, by fresher and equally heroic forces, and finally their scattered survivors were thrust back in sullen retreat.

Pickett's charge has been called "the high-tide of the Confederacy." After Gettysburg the South never had a chance to take the offensive. From then on, Lee sadly but skillfully devoted his constantly waning strength to the defense of Richmond.

Vicksburg. — The day after Lee started to retreat from Gettysburg, the fortified city of Vicksburg (p. 382) surrendered to Grant, who had been besieging it relentlessly on both land and water sides. For weeks the people of the city had been living in caves and cellars to escape Grant's bombs. Food had become so scarce that men had been forced to eat the flesh of horses and even of rats. The suffering was frightful. On July 4 it became plain that the city could hold out no longer, and terms of surrender

were arranged. The Confederacy lost an army of 30,000 men and its last stronghold on the Mississippi. "Once more," Lincoln wrote, "the Father of Waters goes unvexed to the sea."

After this, it was harder than ever for the South to get supplies. The roads to Mexico and the Gulf were all firmly shut. **But the Confederacy was grimly determined** not to give up till its last army was gone and its last dollar spent. All white men between seventeen and fifty were now armed and sent to the front to take the places of those that had been killed or captured by the North. The world never saw more gallant devotion to a "Lost Cause."

Chattanooga. — The South had not been able to send troops to drive Grant from Vicksburg because all its other forces in the West were busied in defending Chattanooga against the Union General Rosecrans. Rosecrans finally won the city; but soon afterward he was defeated by General Bragg in a three-day battle at *Chickamauga Creek*. Each army lost nearly one man out of four; and the Union forces were saved from destruction mainly by the heroic stand of the left wing under General *George H. Thomas*.

Thomas, hailed as "The Rock of Chickamauga," was then put in charge of the Union army in that district. He was cooped up, however, by Bragg's superior forces, intrenched upon near-by mountains, until Grant came to his relief. Then followed tremendous fighting above the clouds, at *Missionary Ridge* and *Lookout Mountain*. The Confederates were decisively defeated, and Chattanooga was secured to the Union. The news reached the North on Thanksgiving Day, and caused great rejoicing. (The map facing p. 377 shows the importance of Chattanooga as a railroad center.) Tennessee at last was freed wholly from Confederate forces, and the line of battle was forced southward into Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

IV. THE END OF THE WAR

Lincoln and the War. — During all these years there had been plenty of people to criticize Lincoln and his government. Some blamed him for using too much authority, and others for not using enough; some, for not freeing the slaves at first, and others for freeing them when he did. But Lincoln bore all this noisy criticism patiently, and soon won the complete trust of the great masses of plain people.

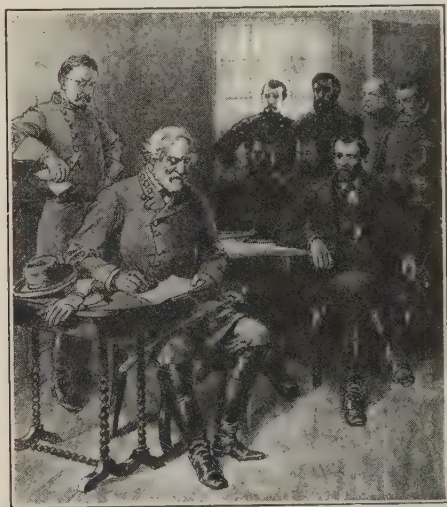
In the elections of 1864 there were several candidates for the presidency; but the people reëlected Lincoln by a large majority. They had concluded, he said, with one of his smiles, "not to swap horses while crossing the stream." But though Lincoln still had a smile at times, it had come to be a sad one. The sufferings of his people, North and South, haunted him day and night.

Grant and Lee. — In the spring of 1864 Grant had been given the title of Lieutenant General and put in command of all the armies of the United States. He was the only Northern general who had won a series of decisive victories. Even Meade's success at Gettysburg had not satisfied the North because Lee's army had escaped. Grant was coming to be looked upon as a champion to match Lee.

Leaving General William T. Sherman to carry on the campaign in the West, Grant took charge in person of the Army of the Potomac. All through the summer of 1864 he kept hammering at Lee, but without being able to reach Richmond. However, Grant differed from any of the generals who had preceded him. No defeat discouraged him; he never gave up his plans; he simply attacked in another place. His losses were frightful, and the North was filled with mourning homes. But Grant was now fighting to *end the war*. Though his losses were vastly heavier than Lee's, his men could be replaced and Lee's could not. Little by little the Confederate forces were being worn away.

Sherman's March to the Sea. — In the West, under Grant's orders, Sherman fought his way from Chattanooga to Atlanta — another railway center and the one important manufacturing city of the Confederacy. From Atlanta he started to march through Georgia to Savannah. The rich fields of Georgia had been a chief source for supplying the scanty food for the Confederate armies; but Sherman left behind him a path of destruction sixty miles wide. Then, late in December, he entered Savannah, and telegraphed the news of its capture to Lincoln for a Christmas gift.

Sherman's march to the sea caused much suffering and has been severely criticized. The only possible defense for it is that it helped to bring the war to an end more quickly, — partly by cutting off the Confederate supplies, and partly by showing that "the Confederacy was an empty shell."



LEE SIGNING THE TERMS OF SURRENDER WRITTEN BY GRANT. The two men were old comrades.

Another campaign of destruction was being carried on at the same time in the Shenandoah valley by General "Phil" Sheridan. This fertile district had been the other chief source of supplies for Lee's armies. The Union generals had failed in all their attempts to enter it; but in the fall of 1864 Sheridan drove out the Confederates and deliberately laid waste the rich farms of the valley.

Lee's Surrender. — When fighting started in the spring of 1865, the Confederate army, ragged and starving, was at

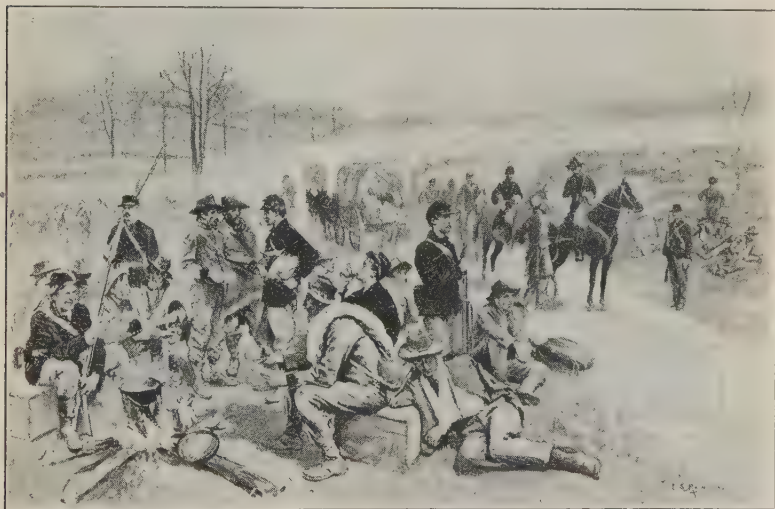
"Heavier-than-air" flying machines were not invented until nearly forty years after the Civil War, but the North made considerable use of balloons. The huge silk gas-bag was inflated with light hydrogen gas until it could lift a man (in a car hanging below it) high enough so that he might get much information about the enemy's position. A balloon could not be steered: if loose, it was at the mercy of air currents. Sometimes a daring balloonist did risk drifting over the enemy's lines; but usually long slender ropes held the balloon to a fixed station — where, of course, it was a target for the enemy's guns.

This picture is a photo of such a balloon, almost ready for an ascent, in the campaign of 1862 against Richmond. It is being "charged" from two hydrogen "generators" on the left, just out of sight. The officer on the right, with his hand on the gas-bag, testing the inflation, is Lieutenant Lowe, who was to make the perilous ascent. This young man afterward became one of the leading American scientists and for many years was Director of the great Lowe Astronomical Observatory.

The Confederates had few balloons. Southern ladies gave their silk dresses freely, to make the strong light coverings; but the South lacked movable generators, to make gas where it was wanted. Their balloons had to be charged in some city, too far away from military operations.



Brady Photograph.



AFTER APPOMATTOX. — Union soldiers sharing their knapsack rations with the hungry and exhausted Confederates. From *Harpers' Encyclopedia of United States History*.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, — the statue at Lincoln, Nebraska, by Daniel C. French.

Lincoln's most famous words are in his great speech at Gettysburg in memory of those who gave their lives there —

"... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

last forced to begin its final retreat. Soon Lee found himself surrounded by Union armies, and on *April 9, 1865*, he met Grant near *Appomattox Court House* to arrange terms of surrender.

Grant proved a generous conqueror. He refused to take Lee's sword, and allowed all the Confederate officers to keep their side arms. Officers and men gave their word not to take up arms again against the Union, and were allowed to go to their homes. Grant let them keep their horses, so that they could do their spring plowing; and the Union soldiers shared their rations with Lee's hungry veterans, saluting them with respect as they stacked their arms. A few weeks later two more Confederate armies surrendered, and the long years of fighting were over.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, as photographed April 12, 1865, a few days before his death. He holds a pencil which he had just sharpened for his son "Tad."

The Assassination of Lincoln. — Lincoln had no thought of punishing the

seceded States any further than the hardships of war had already punished them. He wished to welcome them back into the Union, and longed to see the wounds of war healed and forgotten. In his second inaugural, delivered a few days before Lee's surrender, he had expressed what he hoped would be the feeling of the North toward the defeated South. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us

strive on to finish the work we are in ; to bind up the nation's wounds ; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The great President did not live to carry out this noble policy. On April 14, while sitting in his box at the Ford Theater in Washington, for an evening's much-needed recreation, he was shot through the head by a half-crazed actor, John Wilkes Booth, who was foolish enough to think that in this way he was avenging the suffering of the South.

No other man could have been so sorely missed. Lincoln knew by instinct how the people felt and what they wanted. He was both strong and gentle, with a patience and a sense of humor that made it possible for him to endure slights and sorrows that would have crushed another man. In his death, the North lost a loved and trusted leader, but the South lost infinitely more, — a great-hearted, sorely needed friend. The task of bringing the seceded States back into the Union now fell to lesser men.

At the news of Lincoln's death the joy of a nation was turned to grief. Walt Whitman's noble poem expressed the sorrow of a whole people :

"O Captain ! my Captain ! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won ;
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people are exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring ;

But O heart ! heart ! heart !
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead !"



LINCOLN'S LAST OFFICIAL ACT.

© J. L. G. Ferris

Setting free a youthful prisoner at a mother's prayer.—A painting by Ferris in Independence Hall.

V. THE COST OF THE WAR

The cost of war is measured first of all in human lives ; then in money and property destroyed. The *bitterest* cost cannot be measured. It is paid in the bad habits formed during long years in camp and barracks and on the battlefield and in the spirit of fear and vengeance which follows war.

The number of enlistments in the Southern armies was about half that in the Northern. This meant that nine out of every ten white men between seventeen and fifty bore arms at some time in the South ; while in the North only one out of two men had to serve. In the South nearly all the heads of families were at the front, but in the North two thirds of the enlisted men were boys under twenty-one.

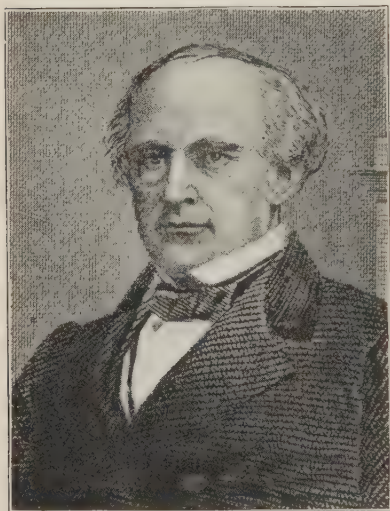
From these armies nearly seven hundred thousand lives were lost, — the loss about evenly divided between the North and the South. As many more had their lives shortened or made miserable by disease or wounds. If science had been as far advanced as it is now, many more lives could have been saved. Anesthetics were little used ; and wounds often became infected from lack of proper care. The miseries of the sick, wounded, and dying, and the grief and despair of their families, are beyond count.

The actual money spent by the North was about three and a half billions of dollars. By 1863 the war was costing the Federal government two and a half millions a day. *Taxes were laid* on everything — on imported articles and on goods produced at home, on incomes, and on business and legal papers. But all these taxes paid only about half a billion of the cost. The other three billion dollars remained a huge national debt, to burden the next generation.

Half a billion of the debt was in the form of paper money, or *greenbacks*. These greenbacks were promises of our government to pay at some future time, and they changed value as people learned of successes or failures in the field. (Why?)

At one time in 1864 a paper dollar would bring only thirty-nine cents in real money, and it was several years before this paper money was received at full value.

The rest of the three billion dollars was gained by *selling bonds* (which means *borrowing* money at interest; p. 226). At first it was hard to borrow the amount needed — a tremendous sum for that day. While the Army of the Potomac was losing battles to Lee and while it looked as if England and France might give help to the Confederacy, many business men hesitated to lend to the government.



SALMON P. CHASE. — An engraving from a photo.

But some showed a fine patriotism. One millionaire explained, "I am putting everything I can rake and scrape together into national bonds, to help the government maintain itself. . . . If I am not to have any country, I don't want any money."

Secretary Chase of the Treasury Department found a new way to sell the bonds by starting a system of *National banks*. Any group of men with enough capital could organize one of these banks provided

they bought government bonds with one third of their capital. The bank then had to deposit these bonds in the United States Treasury as security for notes (paper money), which the bank was allowed to issue. A ten per cent tax was then laid on the notes of *State* banks — so that hundreds of them found it wise to buy bonds and become National banks. In this way the government got the money it needed.

The South spent much less money than the North, — but it had almost no money to spend. After the blockade there were no incomes to tax, and there were almost no capitalists to buy bonds. A flood of paper money was issued, which went down rapidly in value. Shortly before the end of the war a dollar of Confederate money was worth only a little over a cent. A Southern soldier had to pay \$200 for a poor pair of shoes. It was said that a Southern lady must carry her money to market in her basket and her purchases home in her purse. As soon as the war was over, of course, this money was worth nothing at all ; and of course, too, the bonds issued by the Confederate States were never paid.

Property loss was tremendous in the South, where the fighting took place. Buildings were burned, tracks were torn up, fields were laid waste.

The North had little loss of this kind. To be sure, poor families had suffered from high prices, caused by new taxes and by poor paper money. But on the whole the North grew more and more prosperous during the war. The world stood amazed to see the great Republic emerge from the battle storm actually stronger and richer than it went in. The North had more men, more farms, more railways, and more manufactures in 1865 than in 1861.

The women of both the North and the South bore their full share of the burdens of the war. In the North women took up the work of the men in the factory and in the field. In the South the women managed the farms and plantations, growing corn instead of cotton ; and they plied the spinning-wheel and the loom to supply clothing for the men at the front. In both armies, women served as nurses and sometimes even as scouts and spies.

Women who could not leave home spent every spare moment knitting, scraping lint, rolling bandages, and making

jellies and delicacies for the hospitals. *Soldiers' Aid Societies* raised money to send comforts to the men at the front and to care for their families at home. It was a woman who laid the plan for the *United States Sanitary Commission*, which collected money, food, and comforts for the soldiers, helped

in the care of the sick and wounded, and served much as did the Red Cross during the World War. *Clara Barton*, who later founded the American Branch of the Red Cross Society, gained her first experiences on the battlefields of the Civil War.



Harris and Ewing.

CLARA BARTON.

Throughout the struggle the patience, courage, and unselfish sacrifices of the women at home, in the face of privation and often of cruel grief, made possible the action of the men at

the front. Lincoln once exclaimed: "If all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the World were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war."

FURTHER READINGS

Helen Nicolay's *Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln* and Ida Tarbell's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* are good biographies. Readings on the war itself are: Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*; Barstow, *The Civil War*; Herdman, *Story of the United States*; Holmes, *My Hunt after the Captain*; Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*; Coffin, *Boys of '61*; Hart, *Romance of the Civil War* and *Source Book*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Define *nullification* and *secession*. Explain the connection between them. What is the difference between them? At what times before 1861 had States *threatened* to secede?

2. Do you believe anything had been gained by the compromises with slavery before 1860? If there had been a war in 1830 or in 1850 would the Union have had as good a chance of winning as in 1860?

3. Indicate on the map what points it was necessary for the North to hold in order to keep an effective blockade.

4. On the map trace the Northern gains in each year of the war. Show why the South had to yield in 1865.

5. Every American should read a good biography of Lincoln. After reading about him, explain what qualities in him appeal to you most.

6. Special topics that might be reported on by members of the class are: *The Monitor and the Merrimac*; *Bull Run*; *Lookout Mountain*; *Lee's Surrender at Appomattox*; *U. S. Grant*; *Robert E. Lee*; "*Stonewall*" *Jackson*; *David G. Farragut*; *Clara Barton*; *Philip H. Sheridan*; *William T. Sherman*.



HOW WOMEN DRESSED IN THE CIVIL WAR TIME. — From a fashion plate in Godey's *Lady's Book* of July, 1866. See also the dresses in the picture facing p. 389.



RICHMOND ON APRIL 22, 1865, just after occupation by the Northern army.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION: 1865-1877

I. THE STORY OF RECONSTRUCTION

In the North, reconstruction was fairly simple. There was almost no damaged property, and there was plenty of work. If the returned soldier did not find a job to suit him in the growing cities, the Homestead Act gave him a chance to get a farm free in the West, where there was still plenty of public land. (A Homestead law, p. 371, had finally been passed in 1862.)



The heading of an advertisement of "900,000 acres of the best farm land for sale" by the Illinois Central R.R. in 1866 — in lots of any size, at not more than \$15.00 an acre, nowhere more than fifteen miles from its tracks. Forty years later, none of that land could be bought for less than \$300.00 an acre. But at that time no one would have recommended farm life by a picture of a plow that needed six oxen to draw it. See the picture facing p. 431.

Taxes, too, were reduced at once on everything produced at home (though the tariff on imports did remain high); and in 1879 the Secretary of the Treasury at last announced that there was coin on hand to

redeem the greenbacks. At once a paper dollar became just as valuable as a gold or silver one; and very few people brought paper currency to the Treasury to get other money in its place.

Congress passed many pension bills for the support not only of *disabled* veterans, but also, finally, of *all* veterans and their families. Twenty-five years later, the government was paying one hundred and forty million dollars yearly in pensions. Still, by that year *the debts piled up during the Civil War had been reduced one half*.

For the wrecked South these same problems were more difficult. Many a returned soldier found his home in ashes, his fields grown up to weeds and brush, his family scattered, his stock (and of course his servants) gone. Railroads and bridges had been destroyed, as well as the few factories. Southern men and women, however, now set themselves to the crushing task before them with the same courage that they had shown during the war itself.

But in the South there were other and harder Reconstruction problems. How should the freedmen be dealt with, and how should new State governments be set up? These questions the Federal government undertook to solve,—not always with a kindly feeling for the defeated South. *The term "Reconstruction" is often given to the settlement of these two problems alone.*

Reconstructing State Governments took Twelve Years

In 1863, Lincoln had issued a proclamation stating that as soon as ten per cent of the voters of any seceded State had sworn allegiance to the Federal government, they might set up a new State government, *without slavery*. Before his death, he had recognized four States as "reconstructed" in this way.

Lincoln's successor was the Vice President, *Andrew Johnson* of Tennessee. Johnson had been a "War Democrat": a

Democrat who agreed with the Republican party in wanting to carry on the war until the Union was restored. In 1864 the Republicans had put him on their ticket with Lincoln, to gain votes from the Democrats. He was honest and patriotic, and a strong character; but he was rude in manner, and he had no tact in dealing with people.

Johnson tried to continue Lincoln's generous plans for the South, but he soon got into violent quarrels with Congress. **Congress then undid Lincoln's reconstruction, and carried through a harsh plan of its own**, passing bill after bill over Johnson's veto. The Republicans were bitter toward the conquered South, and remained so through the two terms of the next President, *General Grant* (1869-1877).

Tennessee soon did everything that Congress wanted, and was taken back into the Union. But, for twelve years after the war, the other seceded States were allowed no voice in the national government and not much in their own. They were divided into five military districts, each of which was put under a general of the United States army. Congress



THE CARPET BAG, forerunner of the suitcase, was the common handbag carried by travelers in 1870. It was made of carpet, usually with large and brilliantly colored figures.

gave negroes the right to vote, and took that right away from large numbers of whites, *including all the old leaders*. In each State, the voters were then required to make a new constitution satisfactory to Congress. After that, they could elect a governor and legislature — *who, however, could do nothing important without the consent of the general in charge of the district*. And no State could come back into the Union until it had ratified the *Fourteenth and Fifteenth* amendments, giving negroes the rights of white men.

Dishonest adventurers now swarmed in from the North, to plunder the helpless South. (These rascals were called *carpet-baggers*, because it was said they brought all their

possessions with them in a traveling bag.) They easily got control of the ignorant negro voters and their inexperienced legislatures, and persuaded them to vote huge sums of money for all sorts of foolish ventures. Then they pocketed as much of it as they could themselves. Taxes became frightfully high, and the war-ruined South was burdened further with immense debts.

By 1871, all the Southern States had accepted the plan of reconstruction laid down by Congress. The next year, Congress restored the vote to most of the ex-Confederates; *but the Federal armies were kept in the South until removed in 1877 by President Hayes* (p. 409). Not till then did the Southern States get rid of the carpet-bag governments and become self-governing again.

II. RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEGRO

For years, President Lincoln had hoped that the slaves might be freed gradually and trained for the responsibilities and duties of freedom. All their lives they had been provided by their masters with food, clothing, and shelter. They knew nothing of the value of money. Most of them could neither read nor write. They had never for a moment been allowed to think or act for themselves.

But the war finally made it necessary to free the slaves all at once; and, without a moment's preparation for the duties of free men, four million negroes had been declared citizens. For the first time in their lives they might go where they pleased. When one old negress was asked why she had left her master's place, she answered, "What fur? 'Joy my freedom!" And many of them did "enjoy their freedom" in strange and alarming ways. They had no idea of "earning a living." Some were sure the government was going to give each one "forty acres and a mule." Others thought freedom meant no work at all.

Congress established the *Freedmen's Bureau*, which distributed food and clothing, started schools, and tried to help the untrained ex-slaves become self-supporting men and women. But it was soon plain that the problem was too hard to be solved *quickly*—in that or any other way.

Southern whites feared disorders from the lawless bands of ex-slaves roaming the country about their homes. Naturally, too, they were bitter toward the crushing taxes that were ruining what the war had left of their property. But while the white leaders were denied the right to hold office in their States, they could not make laws to prevent the disorders, or to stop the corruption in government.

So some of them formed a secret society, known as the Ku Klux Klan, in order to gain what they wanted by frightening the superstitious negroes. Dressing like ghosts in masks and long white robes, the Klansmen rode about at night warning the terrified negroes to behave themselves and to let government affairs alone.

Unfortunately this society did not depend entirely on such warnings. In extreme cases it punished negroes and their white leaders by flogging and by killing; and, before long, unscrupulous men, protected by the disguise and the secrecy of the organization, did many cruel things without excuse at all, merely to gratify *personal* hatreds and brutal passions. Congress tried in vain to stamp out the Klan by means of a *Force Bill*. But fear of the Klansmen was stronger with the negroes than their faith in Uncle Sam's army; and most of them stopped using their right to vote.

Then, after the Northern troops were removed (p. 436), **the whites gained full control, and began to pass laws to keep the negroes from voting in the future.** The *Fifteenth Amendment*, to be sure, said that no man could be denied the right to vote because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." But Southern legislatures found many ways to reach their ends without *directly* disobeying this

wording. One was to require that a voter must own property — and it was a long time before many negroes were able to get any. Another was to require each voter to explain some clause in the State constitution, — and few negroes were able to satisfy the white judges of elections with their explanations.

Then, too, several States added to their constitutions a “grandfather clause,” which forbade a man to vote unless his ancestors had voted before 1867. The Oklahoma “grandfather clause” was declared unconstitutional by the Federal courts in 1916. But similar laws remain in force in other States; and it is easy to see how election judges who *wish* to keep negroes from voting are quite able to do so.

The problem of the negro in the United States — his education, his rights, his relations to white men — **is still unsolved.** Only the first steps have been taken. The negroes of the new generation are self-supporting; thousands of them have their own small farms; many of them are in professions, as lawyers, doctors, editors, and ministers. Negro leaders have arisen, like the late *Booker T. Washington* and his successor, *Robert Moton*, who have spent their lives in helping the people of their race “find themselves.” By their efforts, industrial schools have been founded to train the negroes in farming and in various trades. (See the picture of Tuskegee Institute facing p. 497.)



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Most negro leaders feel with the white men of the South that the two races are better apart — for the present at least. But they do not wish their people to be treated as inferiors. They insist that the “Jim Crow” car shall be fitted up as well, and kept as clean, as the white man’s; and that the schools to which the negro sends his children shall have their proper share of public money, so that they may have as good teachers and as good equipment as the schools for white children. This kind of equality has not yet been fully secured. For this reason, many negroes are leaving the South for other parts of the country, where they hope for wider opportunities.

III. OTHER EVENTS DURING RECONSTRUCTION YEARS

Three important matters were settled with foreign nations.

1. In 1867 Mr. Seward (p. 386), who remained Secretary of State under Johnson, persuaded Congress to vote \$7,200,000 for the purchase of *Alaska* from Russia. Many people at the time thought this a foolish purchase, and called Alaska a “worthless refrigerator”; but its half-million square miles have proved to be rich in minerals, especially in gold and coal; and the furs and fisheries alone have paid the purchase price many times over.

2. During the Civil War, Napoleon III of France had tried to gain control of Mexico. He had set up the young Duke Maximilian of Austria as “Emperor” of that country, and supported him there with a French army. Lincoln and Seward warned Napoleon that he was violating the Monroe Doctrine; but he paid no attention to our protests until the end of our Civil War. Then General Sheridan with a large force of troops was sent down to the Mexican border, and Napoleon promptly withdrew his armies. The Mexicans at once rose against the unfortunate young prince, executed him, and restored their republic.

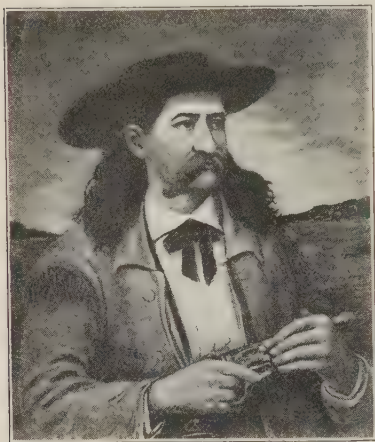
3. In the early part of Grant's administration, there was much bitter feeling against England, because of the damage our commerce had suffered from the *Alabama* (p. 386). But England soon acknowledged that the carelessness of her government had been responsible for that damage; and both countries then agreed to have the amount determined by a court of arbitration.

So, in 1871, President Grant, Queen Victoria, the emperor of Brazil, the king of Italy, and the Swiss president each appointed one member of the court. It met at Geneva in Switzerland, and, after a full investigation, awarded the United States \$15,500,000. This *Alabama Arbitration* was a shining victory for peace and for common sense. It marks a forward step in human history — the greatest of its kind since the like provision in the Jay Treaty with England about eighty years before.

The most important *home* matter was the completion of the first transcontinental railway. In 1862, Congress voted aid in land and money to two companies for building a railroad through the wilderness to the Pacific. An Eastern railroad already reached to Omaha. From that point the *Union Pacific* now began to build westward, while from Sacramento the *Central Pacific* built eastward. Congress offered 12,800 acres of land for each mile of road built; and the two companies began a race to see which should get most of this rich bounty. The Central Pacific once won a \$10,000 bet with its rival by laying 10 miles of track in a single working day.

The story is a romantic one. Indians tore up the track at unguarded points, and sometimes attacked the workmen. There was much hard fighting, and many laborers fell victims of the scalping knife or the torture-stake. One company had to tunnel mountains, while the other had to throw forward its workmen and supplies across seven hundred miles

of what all school maps of those days called *The Great American Desert*. William F. Cody, one of the earlier pony express riders, now won his name of *Buffalo Bill* by killing nearly five thousand buffaloes in a year and a half to supply meat for the workmen of the Union Pacific.



"BUFFALO BILL."

It had been estimated that the road might possibly be completed in fourteen years; but the energy of the companies and of their army of 25,000 workmen cut this time in half. The two lines met near Ogden in Utah. When the connecting rail was laid, on May 10, 1869, the whole country, from New York to

San Francisco, celebrated joyfully this binding together of East and West by "a bond of steel that would never be broken."

The Panic of 1873. — The enthusiasm for the first trans-continental railroad led people to put a great deal of money into the building of other railroads, especially in the West where for a long time there was too little traffic to pay expenses. New factories, too, were built so fast that they produced more goods than could be sold. Too much of all this rapid "expansion" had been accomplished with *borrowed* money; and soon the railway companies and factory owners were not able to pay their debts. They failed, and so did the banks which had lent them money. A few individuals became very rich, but thousands of small stockholders lost all their savings. For a time wages were reduced in all kinds of work, and many factories closed down altogether, causing great hardship to the workers.

Corruption in the Government. — President Grant, so resolute in dealing with open enemies, proved too trustful in dealing with pretended friends. In his second administration, people were shocked to learn that dishonest officials had been cheating the government out of large sums of money. A group of liquor manufacturers, called the "*Whisky Ring*," had managed to get out of paying the internal revenue tax by bribing the collectors. Grant's own secretary was closely connected with this scandalous matter. And, even in the Cabinet, the Secretary of War, Belknap, had been taking bribes from men who wished to be appointed Indian agents. (Of course these men, in turn, expected to get the money back, and more, by cheating the Indians.)

It was discovered, too, that several congressmen in return for their votes had accepted gifts of stock in a company which was building the Union Pacific — the *Credit Mobilier*. The same Congress passed a bill raising the pay of Representatives and Senators, and made the raise apply to the two years they had just served. This *salary grab*, along with the other scandals, aroused great indignation; and the North was getting tired, too, of trying to rule the South by an army.

In the campaign of 1876 the Democrats stood for "reform" in the government and for withdrawing the troops from the South. At first their candidate, *Samuel J. Tilden*, was declared elected. But, in three Southern States and in Oregon, disputes soon arose — concerning twenty different electors. *Any one* of the twenty votes could give the victory to Tilden, while the Republicans could not win without *every one of them*. Congress appointed a commission of fifteen (eight Republicans and seven Democrats) to decide the matter. This famous "Electoral Commission" finally settled every disputed point in favor of the Republicans by a strict party vote, eight to seven.

Fortunately, *Rutherford B. Hayes*, who so became President, was more liberal than his party managers. He with-

drew the troops from the South and left the States there to solve their own problems. This closed the period of Reconstruction. The Hayes administration was soon concerned with new questions (pp. 416, 417, 436 ff.).

FURTHER READINGS

Haworth, *Reconstruction and Union*; and Paxson, *The New Nation*, have interesting chapters on Reconstruction, which are not too hard. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk*, and Washington's *Up from Slavery* are written by negroes, and give the negro side of the race problem. Northern students should certainly read Page's *Red Rock* for a Southern view of Reconstruction.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Do you think it was wise to give the freedmen the vote just after the Civil War? Explain your reasons. Do you think the right to vote should ever be limited? Why, or why not?

2. What measures have been passed to provide for veterans of the *World War*? In what way was it easier for the returned soldiers of the Civil War to get a new start?

3. Why did the freedmen think it unnecessary for free men to work?

4. What excuse had the Southern whites during the Reconstruction Period for forming secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan? Does that excuse exist to-day?

5. Since 1876 the Southern States have nearly always returned large Democratic majorities. In politics we speak of them as the "Solid South." Can you explain why that is a natural result of our Reconstruction policy?



REINDEER FEEDING ON MOSS: Seward Peninsula, Alaska. Raising reindeer is a profitable industry.



PART OF A STREET IN SITKA, ALASKA, TO-DAY, showing the survival of Russian influence, especially in the architecture of the old church.



COTTON PICKING: THE OLD WAY. — To-day, in large fields like this the cotton is picked by machinery driven by electricity.



FINISHING THE LAYING OF THE FIRST CABLE FOR COMMUNICATION BY TELEGRAPH ACROSS THE ATLANTIC (1866).



COMPLETION OF THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY, May 10, 1869 (p. 408).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NEW NATION EXPANDS

Even during the War, the United States grew in numbers and wealth. After 1876 this growth was more rapid than ever before. Immigrants came in greater numbers, and inventors found many new ways of producing goods faster. The panic of 1873 caused only a brief interruption in this prosperity.

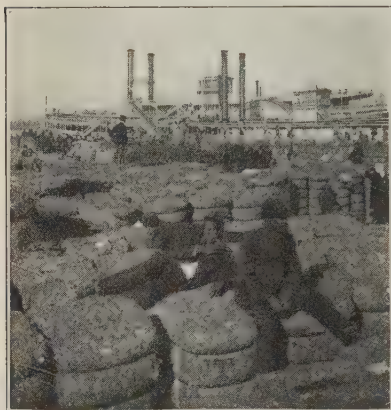
I. THE NEW SOUTH PROFITS BY FREE LABOR

How the Farm Has Gained. — Before the war, Southerners and many Northerners thought it would be impossible to raise cotton profitably without slave labor. But, said Henry Grady of Georgia in 1886, "We have found that the free negro counts for more than he did as a slave." The largest cotton crop ever raised under the slave system was four and a half million bales; but in 1919 that crop had risen to more than eleven million bales.

Moreover, the South now produces a much greater *variety* of crops than in the old days. The large plantations have been broken up into smaller farms, and methods have im-

proved. Thousands of truck-farmers now market early peas, berries, and melons at high profit in northern cities months before the northern crops are ready.

In many communities, to be sure, ignorance makes the farmers suspicious of new methods; and often they have no



THE COTTON LEVEE AT NEW ORLEANS.
— A recent photo.

capital to buy machinery. But they are learning to combine into groups to own machinery; and agricultural schools are slowly overcoming ignorance.

True, the question of farm *labor* remains difficult. Some negroes have become successful farmers on land of their own; but a great many are still untrained and shiftless. Such men work for some white employer, taking their pay

usually in a part of the crop. Often they keep so deeply in debt to him for supplies that they are practically "bound to the land." That is, they have to stay year after year to work out old debts. To solve these labor problems will take a great deal more education for both whites and negroes.

But the South is no longer merely "a farm." It has become also a vast "workshop." Its forests and mines turn out lumber, coal, and iron. Phosphates for Northern farms are mined in Tennessee; and Texas and Oklahoma have the richest oil wells in the Union. In scores of new cities, the coal from Southern mines, or electricity from the splendid water power of Southern rivers, turns the wheels of hundreds of mills and factories. South Carolina already stands second among all the States in the manufacture of



INDIANS HUNTING BUFFALO IN 1870. — The Indians had no horses until the white man came. But before 1800 herds of wild horses roamed the Western plains, descended from a few horses lost by early Spanish explorers. The Indians learned to capture and tame these, and soon in many Western tribes wealth was counted by horses. With them the Indians found it easy to get food from the vast herds of buffalo.



AN EARLY TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAIN (1875) STOPPED BY BUFFALO ON THE TRACKS, — not an unfrequent occurrence in those days. Passengers often carried rifles for such a chance.



Photo by Ben Wittick.

NAVAJO INDIANS HERDING SHEEP IN ARIZONA IN THE EIGHTIES. — No doubt you have read stories of the long and sometimes bloody feuds between sheepmen and cattlemen on the Western plains. In the end, the cattle forced the sheep, as a rule, off to semi-arid regions like the one in this picture, where cattle could not do well.



Photo by Ben Wittick.

PART OF A CATTLE ROUND-UP IN ARIZONA IN THE EIGHTIES.

cotton. During the Civil War, a blacksmith shop was the only building on a certain cross-roads spot in northern Alabama. To-day that spot is the center of the great manufacturing city of Birmingham, with more than a quarter of a million people, and with steel mills that rival those of Pittsburgh. (Before the war there were only five cities of 50,000 inhabitants in the South. How many were there according to the last census?)

II. THE VANISHING FRONTIER

It took two hundred years for our frontier to reach the Mississippi, and thirty years more to settle the tier of States just west of the great river. Then, with the rush of gold-seekers, the Pacific coast filled up. But when the Civil War ended, the vast grassy plains between the Mississippi and the Rockies were still left to the Indian and the buffalo.

This last frontier was not a line, but a band of territory. It stretched from Canada to Mexico, and at first it was a thousand miles wide. But it was crossed, *ahead of settlement*, by transcontinental railways (four had been built by 1885); and it narrowed swiftly, as settlers moved out upon it from East and West at once.

The hunter and trapper of earlier years soon gave way along the foothills to the *miner* with pick and shovel, and on the prairies to the *cowboy*, with pony, lariat, and "six gun." Here flourished the "cattle-kings," whose immense herds of long-horned cattle grazed free on Uncle Sam's pasture and ranged at will from Texas to Montana, "following the grass" as the seasons changed. Once a year came the "round-up," when bands of cowboys sorted out the half-wild herds, branded new calves with the owner's mark, and drove the thousands of fat young steers to the nearest railway, to be shipped to Eastern markets.

But homestead farmers were pressing in rapidly, fencing off the quarter sections of best land for crops. The range

pasture grew narrower and poorer. The cattle men did not give way to these "nesters" (as they called the homesteaders) without a bitter and often a lawless struggle. The homesteader's fences were cut; his crops trampled, and his stock driven off, if, indeed, he was not burned out or slain.

But in the end the farmer won out. True, much beef is still raised on Western ranches, where the soil is too dry for grain crops; but these ranches, though huge, are fenced and privately owned; and the business is on a less magnificent scale than when the vanished race of cattle kings ran herds over eight million acres.

The victory of the pioneer farmers on this last frontier, however, **was not an easy one**. They had many troubles unknown to earlier pioneers. As a rule, to be sure, they were able to make most of the journey from their older homes by rail instead of on foot or in rude wagons; and they had no forests to clear away before they could plant a crop. But on the other hand they had no wood for building or fuel. Lumber or coal had to be bought *for cash* at the nearest railway station — the cost mightily increased by freight charges and by the long and slow haul out to the farm. The first houses were often built of prairie sod; and many times they had to be warmed with burning bundles of straw. Plagues of grasshoppers, unknown to the East, devoured the farmer's wheat. Swiftly spreading prairie fires destroyed house and crop. In winter, the cattle and often the settlers themselves strayed and were frozen to death in the sudden and frightful Western blizzards, which in those days were foretold by no such efficient Weather Bureau as we have had now for many years. The "plains district" (the "Great American Desert") had scant rainfall; and the farmers who settled even along its margin found that many crop failures came from long dry summers that followed one another sometimes year after year, — with hot winds that withered the wheat before it ripened.



A SAWMILL built on the old Nez Percé trail at Rock Creek, Washington, in 1879.
Photo by Palmer, Spokane.



A MODERN LUMBER MILL in the same district. The work of the slow oxen is done swiftly by high power engines. Fewer workers are needed than for the smaller output of the old mill.



THE GRAPE FRUIT HARVEST IN CALIFORNIA.



A SCENE IN THE CALIFORNIA REDWOODS.

Many farmers gave up in despair, and went "back East." Many stayed only because they could not get away; and some stayed through the dry years in long-deferred hope of "the good year that was bound to come sometime." But gradually, men learned where wheat could be raised with profit, and what land was better left to grazing. In some places, too, enterprising men organized irrigation companies that made thousands of dry acres dependable and fertile. And in the Red River valley where drought was almost unknown, all through this period of Western trial "bonanza farmers" raised "bumper crops" on thousand-acre farms.

Some other industries gained a new importance in the West. In the mountains of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, *lumbering* proved more profitable even than mining, and another new American type appeared in the wealthy "lumber baron," who often had worked his way up by the hardest of hard knocks from a rough "lumber-jack." (On a smaller scale, the like had been done earlier in northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and even in Maine.) The sheltered valleys of the mountain ranges in the Northwestern States proved also to be excellent for *fruit growing*; and on the coast the port-towns, such as Seattle, Portland, and Tacoma, were soon building up *a rich commerce with China and Japan*, as well as a flourishing coast trade.

Meantime the Indians had been making a desperate stand in several wars to save their homes and hunting grounds from the white advance. Between 1865 and 1880 these wars cost us, in money alone, \$22,000,000; and just the names of the battles fill twenty printed pages. In one of the fiercest struggles, General Custer, a Civil War veteran and a famous Indian fighter, lost his life along with that of his entire command. The war in which this battle was fought was brought on by the rush of impatient miners into the Sioux reservation in the Black Hills, when gold was

discovered there in 1875. President Hayes said that "many if not most" of these wars were caused by "broken promises and other acts of injustice on our part."

In 1887, our government began a more hopeful way of dealing with the Indians. It offered farms of 160 acres each, equipped with machinery and stock, to all those who would leave their tribes and the reservation life. During the next thirty-five years, more than half of the Indians in the United States accepted this plan and became naturalized citizens. Finally, in 1924, *Congress gave full citizenship* (with the right to vote) *to all the rest*, whether they remained on reservations or not. *Congress has also made generous provision for educating Indian children* in special schools. In 1880, seven thousand were being trained in such schools; in 1920, the number had risen to seventy thousand.

From Atlantic to Pacific All Territories Become States

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, four States were added to the Union from the Western territory, — *Kansas* (1861), *Nevada* (1864), *Nebraska* (1867), and *Colorado* (1876). In all, this



"Oklahoma City" on the afternoon of the Opening Day. Cf. p. 417.

made thirty-seven States. The next twelve years saw no new ones, but in 1889 four more were added, — *North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington*, — and the next year two more, *Idaho and Wyoming*.

For a long time before this, *Utah* had had a population large enough for Statehood; but most of the people there were Mormons (p. 348), who believed in polygamy — the practice of a man's having more than one wife. So our government did not make it a State, until, in 1896, the Mormon church at last agreed to give up this practice.



Witlick Photo.



Tolman Photo.

Upper Left. — DR. CHARLES EASTMAN, Sioux scholar, teacher, and writer, to whose books we refer on page 10.

Upper Right. — GERONIMO, able and cruel leader of last Apache war.

Lower Left. — SITTING BULL, Sioux, whose strategy vanquished Custer.

Lower Right. — CHIEF JOSEPH, Nez Percé.

In 1877 our government was persuaded to break many old promises to the Nez Percé Indians of Oregon and to remove them, almost without notice, to the distant Indian Territory. This meant the total loss of their waving crops and flourishing herds. Their chief was *Thunder-traveling-over-the-mountains*, whom the whites called *Joseph*. Chief Joseph pled for delay until fall, but in vain. Then some of the young men rose and raided a white settlement. Seeing sadly that a hopeless war must follow, Joseph cast his lot with his people. He had always been recognized by the whites as a wise statesman, earnestly desiring peace; but now he proved a wonderfully skillful general. In the end, of course, the Indians had to go. But later the government returned them to a reservation in Washington near their old home. There Joseph lived, honored by whites and red men alike, until his death in 1894. Below is part of a message to the whites written by him in his old age.

“If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian, he can live in peace. Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance . . . All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all should have equal rights upon it. . . .

“Let me be a free man — free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and act and talk for myself — and I will obey every law . . .

“Whenever the white men treat the Indian as they do each other, then we will have no more wars. We shall all be alike — brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us, one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers’ hands. . . .

“In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat [Thunder-traveling-over-the-mountains] has spoken for his people.”

The vast region from the Atlantic to the Pacific was now a solid community of States, except for three Territories in the Southwest; and these had not long to wait.

About 1880, when the frontier belt was growing narrow, white pioneers began to covet the rich lands of the western part of the Indian Territory (p. 344) — which the Indians



OKLAHOMA CITY FOUR WEEKS AFTER THE OPENING DAY. — From Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History*.

had come to call *Oklahoma*, or the Beautiful Land, and which was theirs by solemn treaties. In 1879 President Hayes sent troops to remove white squatters, and during the next ten years this action was repeated several times.

Finally in 1889 the United States bought the territory from the Indians, and then announced that it would be opened to homesteaders on a given day. For weeks settlers were gathering on the borders, ready to rush in and pick

out the best pieces of land as soon as the appointed day arrived. A line of Federal troops had to be stationed along the border to hold them back until the hour came.

When the bugle gave the signal at noon on April 22, fifty thousand people on horseback and on foot and in all sorts of vehicles made a wild dash across the boundary. One man drove so recklessly over the rough prairie that his wife bounced out of the wagon, along with a coop of chickens, but the eager home-seeker made no stop.

Before nightfall, several town sites were laid out where the morning had seen only bare prairie. A tent-city of six thousand sprang up at Guthrie the first day, with an elected city council. In ten days the tents had given place to frame

buildings, and the "city" had a church, a bank, a newspaper, and a school. The next year (1890), Oklahoma was organized as a Territory. In eighteen years the population grew to more than half a million; and in 1907 all the old Indian Territory was admitted as the State of Oklahoma.

The two remaining Territories, *New Mexico* and *Arizona*, were too dry for farming without irrigation, but they were rich in minerals and were attracting many settlers. All along,



CATHEDRAL AT ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, — one of the old Spanish buildings. — Photo by Wittick.

New Mexico had had a large Spanish and Mexican population — which was one reason why Congress had been a little slow in making it a State. But both these Territories became States in 1912. The flag now had forty-eight stars.

Before 1900 the Frontier Was Gone

As early as 1890 the Superintendent of the Census reported that we no longer had a *continuous* frontier line. There were still some *patches* of unsettled territory, but most of it was either mountain or desert, not fit for farms.

Americans had been very wasteful in giving out their public lands. It had seemed as if the vast areas to be settled could never be filled up. The government had been generous in its *gifts of land to the States for education and for internal improvements*, and the States had often allowed the lands to pass into private hands with very little profit to the public. Then the government had given more than two hundred millions of acres *to encourage railroad companies* (map, facing p. 479); and another hundred million acres had been made into *farms* under the *Homestead Act*.

At every stage, there had been many abuses. Land companies had hired large numbers of men to take up homesteads. Such men would secure title by swearing they had made improvements that were not made at all; and then they would turn over the lands to the companies. Sometimes, too, cattle men fenced in huge tracts of public land and held them illegally. Lumbermen frequently made their fortunes by cutting and selling vast quantities of trees from the national forests, without even *pretending* to get title. Often, in their haste to grasp these huge profits, they wasted more than they pocketed — taking only the best log perhaps out of three, and leaving the others to rot on the ground. Still worse, the “slashings” were carelessly left to feed chance fires into frightful conflagrations, which have swept away at least a fourth of our splendid national forests.

Railroad companies, too, which had received huge grants of land, had sometimes failed to complete their roads, or had not kept them up once they were built. And the government had unwisely given away the railroad lands without keeping

a right to minerals found there ; thus the railroad companies had come to possess some of the nation's richest deposits of iron, coal, and copper.

Now that good land was becoming so scarce, **the government adopted a new policy in dealing with the public domain.** It was too late to get back the stolen timber, or the rich mines, or even the homestead land that large corporations had taken by fraud, or the lands that railroads had sold to private purchasers. But the railroads which had not kept their contracts were finally forced to give back the public land that they still held, and commissioners were appointed to inspect each new homestead claim, so as to make sure that no more land was taken dishonestly. Rather late, the people of the United States adopted a policy of "conservation," to save what was left of our public domain.

One reason why we had not seen this need sooner was that our lands had gone so very swiftly. When the Northern Pacific railroad was opened for traffic in 1883, one of the noted guests at the ceremony was the English statesman, Lord Bryce. Said he: "The confidence of these Westerners is superb. Men seem to live in the future rather than in the present. Not that they fail to work while it is called to-day, but that they see the country not merely as it *is* but as it *will be*, twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred years hence, when the seedlings they have planted shall have grown to forest trees." (Compare the friendly tone of this passage with the English criticism quoted on p. 307.)

But even the most confident Western "dreamer" of 1883 could hardly have foreseen how rapid the transformation was to be. Less than twenty years later another visitor to the West wrote of the swift changes there as follows: "Living men, not yet very old, have seen [in one and the same place] the Indian on the war path, the buffalo stopping the train, the cowboy driving his cattle, the herder watching his sheep,

the government irrigation dam, the automobile: have seen every one of these slides which Progress puts for a moment into its magic-lantern, and then removes to replace with a new one."

We glory in this swift growth. But it brings peril as well as gain. The frontier has helped to make America democratic and to make our people self-reliant, resourceful, independent. It has taught us to measure men, not by what their fathers have done, but by their own bigness. "Free land" (p. 278), too, has been one chief cause for the well-being of American labor. Now that the frontier is gone, are we sure to keep these "American" traits?

FURTHER READINGS

Stories of life in the West and of its rapid growth may be found in Paxson, *The Last Frontier*; Roosevelt, *Stories of the Great West*; Barstow, *Progress of a United People*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; Russell, *Hidden Heroes of the Rockies*; Taber, *Breaking Sod on the Prairies*; and in many novels such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian* and Stewart Edward White's *The Riverman* and *The Rules of the Game*; Clemens' ("Mark Twain") *Roughing It*; Garland's *Son of the Middle Border*; Willa Cather's *O Pioneers*.

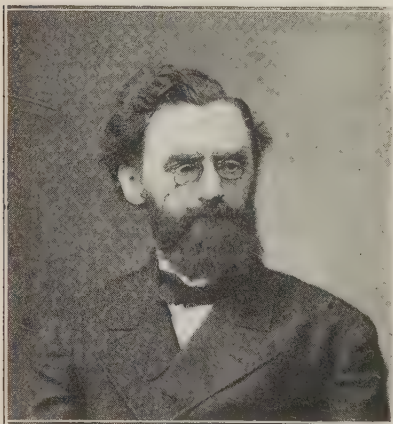
SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. On an outline map of the United States mark the States in the order of their admission to the Union.
2. If you do not know the story of how your State came into the Union, this is a good time to look it up and report on it in class.
3. Would you have preferred to be a pioneer before 1800, between 1800 and 1860, or after the Civil War? Write out your reasons.
4. What are some of the reasons why the reservation system of caring for the Indians did not succeed?
5. What names and terms used in this chapter do we owe to life on our last frontier?
6. The school might well give a historical pageant representing the succession of Indian, trapper, hunter, cowboy, and so on, in the growth of the West or of your State.

III. NEW AMERICANS

While the public domain was filling up, **the number of people in the United States was growing even more rapidly than in earlier times.** By 1890 the population was sixty-three million, — sixteen times as many as when the first census was taken a hundred years before. Ten years later the number had grown to seventy-six million, and the census of 1920 showed a population of more than *one hundred and five million*. (Make a *series* of graphs, all on one scale, to show facts about population from 1790 to 1920.)

One cause of this rapid growth was the increasing flood of immigrants. Germany and Ireland continued to send

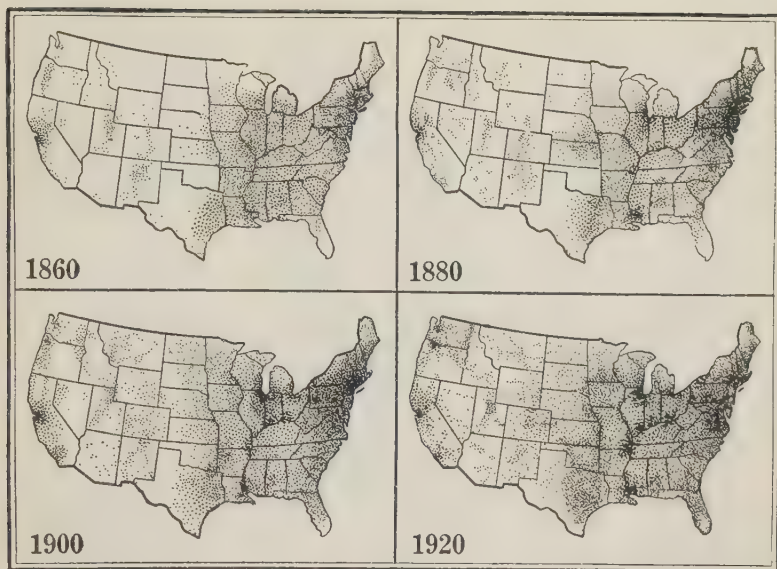


CARL SCHURZ, one of the German reformers who had to flee to America after 1848 (p. 356). He was an important leader during the Civil War, and a prominent reform statesman for many years afterward.

large numbers, as before the Civil War (p. 356), and even larger numbers of Swedish and Norwegian farmers began now to leave their small, rocky lands in Scandinavia, to find an easier and richer life on our Western prairies. During the years following the Civil War, America was looked upon, more than ever, as "the land of opportunity."

Steamships and railways made it easier for immigrants to come than in the

old days, and the Homestead Act made it easy for them to get farms. Many States advertised their special advantages by distributing pamphlets in European countries. But our best advertisers were the immigrants themselves, who wrote back about the splendid chances they found in



DENSITY OF POPULATION at four periods. Compare with earlier maps.



From the *Literary Digest* (May 7, 1921), based on Census of 1920.



SOME OF THE WORK DONE BY OUR IMMIGRANTS. — The shaded parts show the proportion done by them in each industry in 1890.

America. Sometimes whole villages migrated from the Old World to the New. In 1905, more than a million Europeans came; and, in 1910, one third of the total white population of the United States was either foreign born or of foreign parents.

Our immigrants have helped America in many ways. Hundreds of thousands of Scandinavians and Germans have turned the waste places of our West into thriving farms and prosperous towns; and later immigrants from other parts of Europe have done much of our other hardest work, — digging tunnels, grading railroad beds, working in our mines and factories. A writer of only a few years ago was able truthfully to describe the immigrant as “the American man-of-all-work,” — making him say:

“I contribute eighty-five per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries;

I do seven tenths of the bituminous coal mining;

I do seven eighths of all the work in the woolen mills;

I contribute nine tenths of all labor in the cotton mills;

I make nineteen twentieths of all the clothing;

I manufacture more than half of the shoes;

I build four fifths of all the furniture;

I make half of the collars, cuffs, and shirts;

I turn out four fifths of all the leather;

I make half the gloves;

I refine nearly nineteen twentieths of the sugar;

I make nearly half of the tobacco and cigars.”

But our foreign-born citizens have brought much more than the work of their hands. They have made our national life richer by contributing *new ideas and customs*, and they have furnished *leaders* in all lines — poets, artists, scientists, and statesmen. Most of them have held a lofty ideal of the country to which they have come. The author quoted above also speaks for the immigrant in these words:

"I looked toward the United States with eager eyes kindled by the fire of ambition and heart quickened with new born hope.

I approached its gates with great expectation.

I entered in with fine hope."

This "fine hope," it must be confessed, is sometimes sadly disappointed. Hospitable as we are, we are often rudely or carelessly indifferent to the loneliness and the needs of the trustful but awkward stranger within our gates; and we do not always treat him in a way that comes up to his expectation of New World justice.

Even his hope of more material kinds of gain often fails him. Railroad and steamship companies, eager for the profits of transporting immigrants, have sometimes published in Europe quite misleading statements about the ease and comfort awaiting newcomers here. And in every great city, scores of rascals lie in wait for the alien, to take base advantage of his ignorance of our language and our conditions by tricking him into signing ruinous contracts.

And, in late years, the immigrant has come to be a problem. Until about 1890, nearly all our people had come from the countries of Northern Europe. But since that time most of our immigrants have come from more backward lands in the south and east of Europe, — Italy, Austria, and Russia. (Until the World War, Austria included Bohemia and other subject Slav provinces; and Russia included oppressed Poland as well as many districts of cruelly persecuted Jews.) These immigrants are not only ignorant of English: they are also often *illiterate* in their own languages, for the poor in those countries have little chance to learn to read or write. *And they have not had the same experience in governing themselves* as the immigrants from a north European country. All this makes it harder for them to learn the duties of a citizen.

Moreover, since 1890 there has been little chance for an immigrant to take up a farm. He has been forced to find a home in some "foreign quarter" of one of our large cities or in a mining town. There he works side by side with men from his European home, because that is the only way he can get any society at all. He has to live near his work, and his neighbors are as little used to American ways as he is. It takes him a long time to learn the customs of his adopted country, or to feel at home here. One Polish immigrant — four months in this country — wrote to the Commission of Immigration in Massachusetts:

"I am a polish man. I want be american citizen. . . . I want to live with american people, but I do not know anybody of american. . . . I know here many persons, they live here ten or more years, and they are not citizens, they don't speak well english, they don't know geography and history of this country, they don't know constitution of America — nothing. I don't like be like them I wanted they help me in english — they could not — because they knew nothing."

Still another difficulty is that *the newly arrived immigrants are usually willing to work for very low wages*. The native American workmen resent this, as it makes it harder for them to get the wages they need to pay for what they and their families consider necessary — neat homes, nourishing food, and schooling for their children.

In the last forty years Congress has passed many laws to limit immigration. *Convicts, lunatics, idiots, and paupers* are forbidden to enter this country, as well as people with *contagious diseases*. *Anarchists* also are barred. Then in 1917 Congress passed a law which provided that every immigrant must pass a *literacy test* to show that he could read at least his own language. All together about fifty kinds of undesirable persons have been shut out.

For many years it was a regular custom for large firms to

send agents to Europe to hire cheap workers. The firm would pay the passage money for the immigrant, after requiring him to sign a contract to work out the amount at a very low wage. This, you see, was much like the "indentured servant" plan of colonial days. But our labor unions objected to this practice. It was forcing down wages for American laborers also — so that they could not afford decent and comfortable homes. And in 1885 the importation of *contract labor* was forbidden by law.

During the World War, 1914 to 1918, there was very little immigration. But after the war many people feared that the numbers who would try to escape the hardships of life in war-stricken Europe would overwhelm us. Besides, five million men were out of work in the United States in 1921, and immigrants would increase the numbers of unemployed. So **Congress began to pass laws to limit the number which might enter the country each year.** The law of 1924 permits only 150,000 to come in any one year.

One of the most serious problems has to do with Oriental labor. During the '70s, while white labor was still very scarce in our West, we welcomed Chinese and Japanese workmen to do the heavy toil in building our transcontinental railways and other vast constructions. But, as white laborers became more plentiful, they objected vigorously to these Oriental immigrants, because they "lower the standard of living" for American labor.

So in 1882 our first exclusion law shut out Chinese labor. More recently our policy in this matter has threatened to cause trouble with Japan. That country declares herself quite ready to keep her people away from places where they are not wanted, but does not like laws which imply that her people are *inferior* to those of other countries. For many years a crisis was avoided by a private "gentleman's agreement" between the United States and Japan, whereby



A FOREIGN QUARTER ON THE "EAST SIDE" OF NEW YORK TO-DAY. — Hester Street and Rivington. New York has its Jewish Quarter, its Italian Quarter ("Little Italy"), and so on.



Underwood and Underwood.

FUTURE AMERICANS. — A scene in 1917 at Ellis Island, New York harbor, where our immigrants land.

The verses below were written by a Japanese boy
who had studied for a few months in America.

THE HEART OF AMERICA

By Sensui Saiki

There is a country
Established upon justice,
Governing the world with freedom,
Which men call America.

The name of Washington is sweet,
The name of Lincoln is majestic
To a people full of sympathy and men intelligent,
Oh, how like the angels!

When Japan's calamity was known
Coolidge at once issued his mandate
And all the people with united hearts
Collected gold for quick relief.

Lo! the battleships! How many of them
Freighted down with load of love
Soon appeared in Tokyo Bay!
God only understands their depth of heart.

A thousand tents set up,
And Red Cross stations everywhere
To receive the sick and wounded.
Such, truly, are the acts of angels!

What a sympathetic nation!
What a country steeped in love!
Oh, that heart, that heart!
It is indeed the heart of Washington!

FUKUOKA, October 8, 1923.

Japan herself promised to keep her laborers from coming to our shores. But when our immigration laws of 1924 was passed, Congress insisted on *expressly* forbidding Japanese and Chinese immigration — against earnest and repeated recommendations from President Coolidge. Bitter feeling flamed up at once in Japan, with many street riots against Americans living in that country, and there is much talk of boycotting American goods. We certainly will not change our policy, for we want no more “race problems”; but it is greatly to be regretted that our Congress disregarded the President’s warnings and failed to use a more courteous way of getting our ends.

In other matters, however, our feeling for Japan is very friendly. That country suffered from a frightful earthquake in 1923, and the American people sent lavish relief. The poem opposite was written by a Japanese student to express appreciation for this helpful American generosity.

FURTHER READINGS

Wade’s *Pilgrims of To-day* gives interesting accounts of immigrants who have become American leaders, while Holt’s *Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans* contains accounts of less prominent, but equally interesting, persons among our foreign born. The first chapters of Mary Antin’s *The Promised Land*, and of Jacob Riis’ *The Making of an American*, are good stories of young immigrants told by themselves.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. From what foreign nations do the immigrants to your town or State chiefly come? How do they make a living? What steps does your town take to help them become Americans?

2. Do you think a literacy test is a fair way of judging whether immigrants are desirable? Why?

3. Most of the laws limiting immigration have been passed since 1890. How can you explain this?

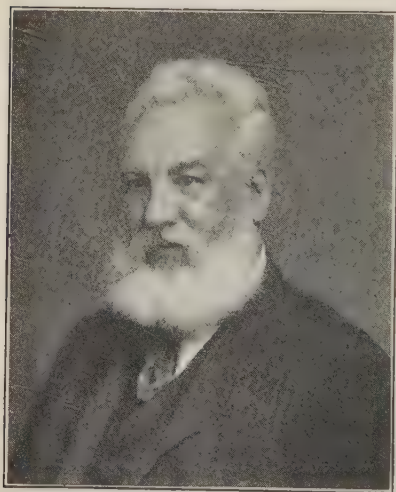
4. Let each member of the class report on the life and services of some one of our foreign-born citizens.

5. Look up the system by which foreigners may become naturalized. If there is a naturalization court in your town, attend it and see what requirements are made of our new citizens. Do you think all our *native-born* citizens could meet those requirements? Should they?

6. After the class has studied carefully the way a naturalization court works, it might write and produce a naturalization play.

IV. THE NEW AGE OF SCIENCE AND INVENTION

In 1876 a "Centennial Exposition" was held in Philadelphia to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of our life as a nation. Three million of our people visited the exposition, where they found much to interest them, not only in

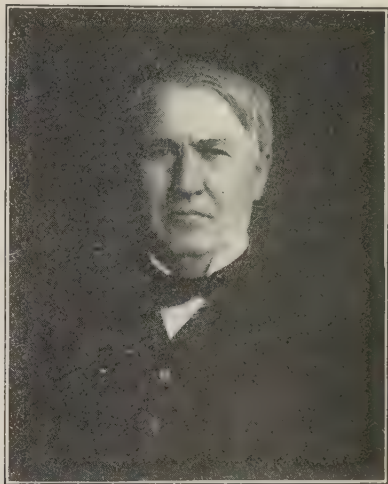


BELL, INVENTOR OF THE TELEPHONE,
in old age.

the exhibits of art and craftsmanship from Europe, but also in the thousands of models of new American inventions. Perhaps the largest crowd gathered round a *fourteen hundred horsepower Corliss engine* (a far higher power than had been dreamed of till then), which turned the wheels of dozens of machines making pins, shoes, bricks, nails, corks, carpets, shingles, and many other articles before the eyes of the fascinated spectators.

Another marvel was a model of a *telephone*, exhibited by Alexander Graham Bell, a young teacher of deaf children. Bell had not yet convinced anyone that the new "plaything"

was of any account, and at first he could not even get the attention of the "judges" at the Exposition. But Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil, who was among the visitors, had recently seen Bell's school, and now insisted on examining the neglected "toy." He entered Bell's booth and placed the "receiver" to his ear. "Why," he cried in amazement, "it talks!" Of course, the crowd had to hear what the potentate had heard, and even the judges became interested. So Bell became famous, — and human life over all the world was soon changed tremendously for the better.



EDISON.

The exhibition awakened for the future a still greater interest in invention. During the next few years the *Age of Steam* gave way to an *Age of Electricity*. The young *Edison* was already experimenting with an electric street car (soon to replace the small and slow horse cars and cable cars of that day), and before many years he had perfected the incandescent electric light, which has changed completely the appearance of our homes and our cities.

New Inventions Help Develop Our Natural Resources

One of the most important series of inventions of the nineteenth century had to do with *turning iron into steel*. Steel is an alloy of iron, about midway between brittle *cast iron* and malleable *wrought iron*. It had been produced in *small quantities* for centuries; but, until after 1855, no way was known to turn iron ore into steel *cheaply* and *rapidly*.

Then, in England, Germany, Sweden, and America, came a swift series of inventions for blowing air, in just the right amount, through the particles of molten iron, to burn out the impurities. This is called the *Bessemer process*. In the next thirty years that process made steel cheap and plentiful. In 1850 a ton of steel, produced by the old methods, cost \$250 ; in 1875 the same amount of better steel cost only \$50 ; and, twenty-five years later, only \$17.

The period in which we live is sometimes called not only the Age of Electricity but also *the Age of Steel*. Many new uses have been found for that product. The framework of our tunnels, our great bridges, and our "sky-scraper" buildings are constructed of it, — so that its use has even changed the appearance of our landscapes. New and better machinery of many kinds has become possible because of cheap steel. And the western farmer (on the plains where wooden fences were out of the question) could never have fenced his fields at all except for cheap steel wire.

To produce steel, both coal and iron are necessary. These two minerals are both found, close together, in western Pennsylvania ; and so until after our Civil War, Pittsburgh produced most of our steel and iron manufactures. At that time, however, we were still obliged to import large amounts of such articles, — even most of the rails used in building our few railroads of that day.

But about 1870 vast deposits of iron ore were found near Lake Superior in northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan ; and (as we have seen on p. 412) coal and iron were found in abundance, near together, in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama. In those Southern States, steel mills were soon built near the mines, and, since 1900, many others have been built near the head of the Lakes, as at Duluth. By 1895, the United States was producing more steel than any other country in the world, and was *exporting* thousands of tons every year.



TREMONT STREET, BOSTON, IN 1878. From an engraving belonging to the Boston Elevated Railway Co. The old horse cars were accommodating about waiting for passengers on a blustery day.

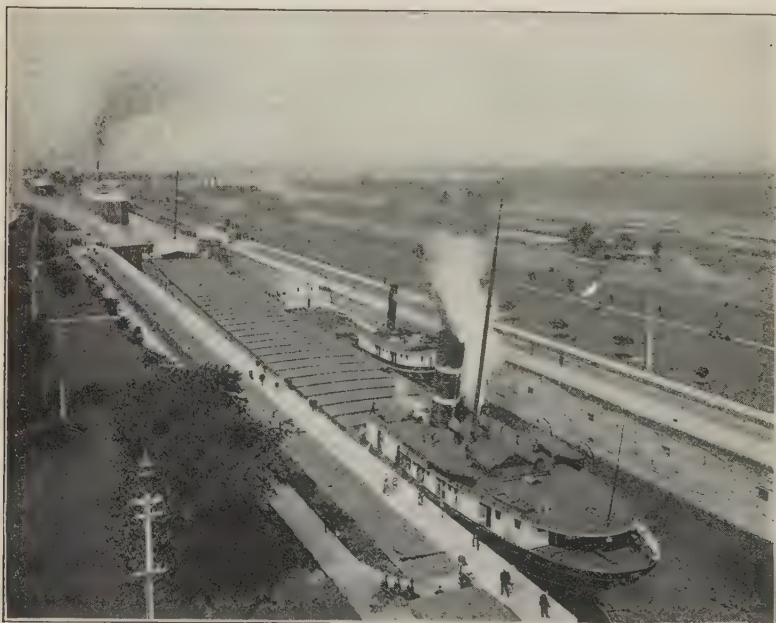


Official, U. S. Army Air Service.

NEW YORK CITY TO-DAY. — part of the "down-town" district The tall structure on the right is the Woolworth Building.



MODERN PLOWING. — Note the width of the furrow and the comfort of the workers. The movement *forward*, too, is far more rapid than any horse team with only *one* plowshare. Compare with the plows shown on p. 400 and facing p. 208. The farm tractor, driven by steam or gasoline or electricity, is an American invention.



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ORE BOATS FROM DULUTH PASSING THROUGH THE LOCKS AT SAULT SAINTE MARIE, on their way east.

This new work in iron and steel called for more coal; and happily new and rich mines of coal were soon found in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and in some of the far-Western States. Then these discoveries helped factories to spread out from their older Eastern home over much of the country, to be near this new supply of energy. In 1910 the value of American manufactures was six times the value in 1860, and we had become the leading manufacturing country of the world. This development, in turn, has caused an enormous growth of cities. In 1860 only one sixth the population lived in towns, while to-day nearly two thirds of our much larger population are town dwellers. (Can one of the class draw pictures, similar in plan to that on p. 206, to show the town and city populations at these periods?)

And a new source of energy was rapidly coming to the front. About 1800, coal had become our chief manufacturing fuel; but, before 1900, its place was challenged by a mineral oil, **petroleum**. Small quanti-



A "Gusher" Oil Well just "brought in," and not yet "capped." The oil spouts in a black stream far above the derrick and drilling machinery. Sometimes such a stream catches fire and spreads ruin about it.

ties of this oil had been known before 1850, when its chief use was as a liniment ("Seneca Oil") for rheumatism. The first gushing well was struck in western Pennsylvania in 1859; and soon the use of oil for light, heat, and power began.

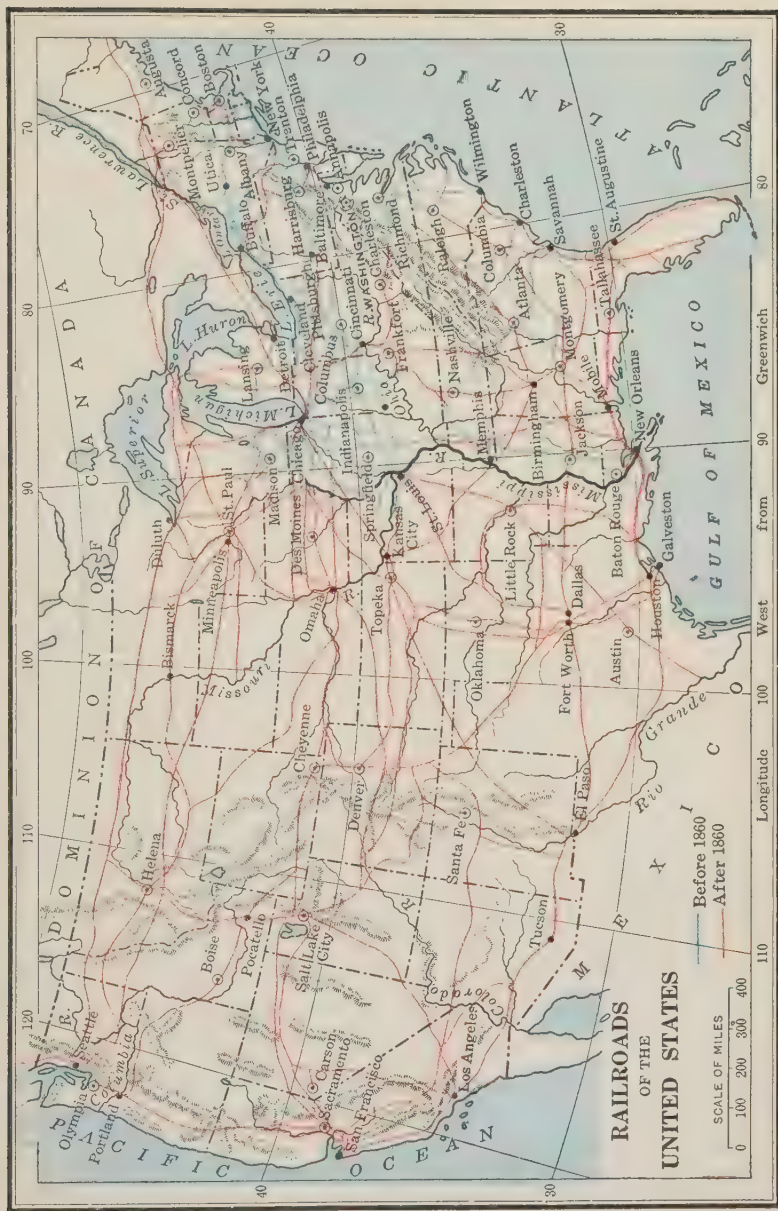
Petroleum is "refined" into various products, such as kerosene and gasoline. The *kerosene* lamp for a time took

the place of the older whale-oil lamp, — until it was itself replaced by electric light. *Gasoline* became the power to run a new sort of engine, light, simple, and cheap, which has rapidly replaced the steam engine for a great many purposes and which makes possible such new conveniences as the automobile and airplane. And *crude oil* furnishes a better fuel than coal ever did to run ocean steamers and warships and even the furnaces in our homes. To-day no nation can make progress in industry without a sufficient supply of oil. To “strike oil” has become a byword for success, — like the earlier “when our ship comes in.”

Science and Invention, applied to farms, have greatly increased the output of foods and other necessities of life. In 1862 Congress established a Bureau of Agriculture. Before long this became a Department, with a Secretary in the President's cabinet. Under this Department, agricultural colleges and experiment stations have been established all over the United States. From these, the farmers in each section can get advice as to the best crops to grow on their land, how to guard their cattle from disease, how to get rid of insect pests, and in general how to get the most from their farms. (See picture on p. 475.)

The new farm machinery has helped too. On large farms the gas engine now furnishes the power for many of the old hand-jobs — sawing wood, churning butter, running the separator, pumping the water, and so on; and, in the fields, tractors draw much of the machinery that used to be drawn by horses (cuts facing pp. 281, 431). Less than one third of the population of the United States live on farms to-day, but they produce plenty of food for all the millions in our towns and cities, and for much of Europe besides.

As we have seen before (p. 290), **increased production demands improved transportation.** In 1860 there were only 30,000 miles of railway in the United States, but by 1900 there were nearly 200,000 miles. And quite as important as



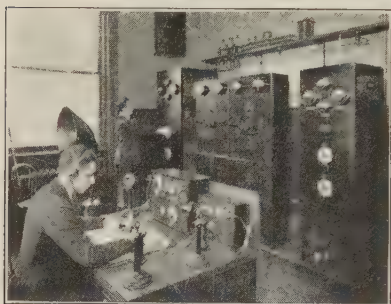
this growth of mileage were the improvements in engines and cars. In 1924 the Great Northern Railroad showed the changes of sixty years in a striking way. It ran from Chicago to the Pacific coast a newly built train of steel coaches, splendidly equipped with every modern convenience for comfortable travel, even to shower baths and barber shops. Behind it, followed a train which had been used in the days of the Civil War — its engine so small that it looked like a toy, the engine platform heaped high with wood for fuel, its cars furnished with wood stoves and kerosene lamps, and with only *jugs* of water and *roller* towels.

To-day in many places new means of transportation are beginning to take the place of railroads. *Electric lines* connect suburban districts with the business centers of large cities scores of miles away; and *motor* busses and trucks are found convenient for much of the old railroad business.

Still more startling are the changes in the means of sending messages from one place to another. In 1924 the *first regular transcontinental air mail* was established by the government, making the trip from New York to San Francisco in 25 hours — a great contrast with the days when the pony express (p. 359) marked marvelous advance! Between 1876 and 1900, telegraph, cable, and telephone lines spread their network of wires around the globe. On July 4, 1903, the first cable message was sent around the world by President Roosevelt, in just four minutes. (This, you see, was even better than the promise of Shakespeare's *Puck*!) All parts of the civilized world are now bound closely together. Business is carried on easily between firms in Europe and America. Our papers report events in Europe and Asia a few hours after they happen.

And indeed we are becoming independent of telegraph wires and ocean cables. Recent inventions make it possible to communicate over thousands of miles without the use of wires. The *wireless telegraph* has been in use since 1896;

while the *wireless telephone* was first used successfully across the Atlantic in 1919, when an engineer in Ireland succeeded in making his voice carry to an operator in Newfoundland. In 1924 a photograph of the American ambassador in London was transmitted to a screen in New York by wireless.



A RADIO STATION.

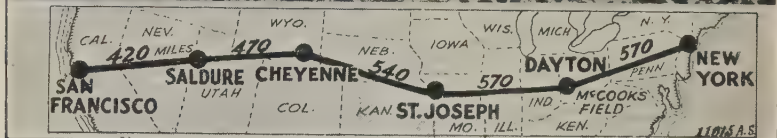
As yet the full powers of the radio are hardly understood, but already lumber camps in the mountains of northern Idaho, and scattered farmers in northern Minnesota and in Texas, may listen to concerts in

Chicago or Boston. The speech of President Harding on Armistice Day, 1921, was spoken to an audience of a hundred thousand people scattered about the hills of Arlington Cemetery at Washington, but it was listened to at the same time by other distant audiences, — one of twenty thousand across the continent in San Francisco.

We feel now as if we had gone almost as far as it is possible to go in developing means of transportation and communication. Our inventors have far outstripped the “seven-league boots” of old fairy tales and have equaled the “wishing carpets” of the *Arabian Nights*. Still, new inventions are being made every year, almost every day. Probably the people of a hundred years hence will look back on our locomotives and automobiles, our telephones and wireless, much as we do on the ox cart, the Conestoga wagon, and the flatboat of a century ago.

FURTHER READINGS

Accounts of many of the later inventions are given in the list of books at the close of chapter xviii. Others are to be found in



Official, U. S. Army Air Service.

LIEUTENANT MAUGHAN and his "Dawn-to-Dusk" airplane — with which he made the trip across the continent in 18 hours, — much better time even than is required of the air mail.



Keystone ©

LISTENING TO ONE OF THE EARLIEST SPEECHES ACROSS THE ATLANTIC BY RADIO : a crowd of radio enthusiasts gathered in Selfridge's Oxford Street store in London in July, 1923, to hear Sir Thomas Lipton broadcast a speech from Newark, N. J.



Official, U. S. Army Air Service.

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT.—This obelisk stands in the national Capital to honor the memory of George Washington. It is the loftiest shaft of masonry in the world. It is 55 feet square at the base, tapering slightly as it rises majestically through its 555 feet. The noble shaft of pure white marble is the first sign of the city to the approaching traveler. Near the top, the walls are pierced by windows on each side, from which one may view the parks, statues, and buildings of the city, the far course of the Potomac, the misty distant mountains of the Blue Ridge. To these windows the visitor may climb, through the electrically lighted interior, by a winding stairway of 900 steps, or he may mount more swiftly by an elevator that carries thirty passengers.

Directly across the open space beyond the Monument, in the distant background near the Potomac, is the beautiful building of white marble that has been erected as the nation's memorial at the Capital to Abraham Lincoln, known usually as "the Lincoln Memorial."

Casson, *The History of the Telephone* and *The Romance of Steel*; Crissey, *Discoveries and Inventions of the Twentieth Century*; Doolittle, *The Romance of the Automobile Industry*; Meadowcroft, *The Boys' Life of Edison*; Rocheleau, *Great American Industries*; Smith, *The Story of Iron and Steel*; Darrow, *Boys' Own Book of Great Inventions*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Suppose that you had been a child of thirteen years in 1865 and had gone to sleep then, Rip Van Winkle fashion, to awake in 1925: you hear a bell, and someone asks you to "see who is on the phone." What explanations would you need? What other phrases or ways of to-day would have to be explained?

2. Let each member of the class look up one of the important recent inventions in which he is interested, and report upon it.

3. On an outline map of the United States, show the regions producing iron, coal, copper, oil, wheat, cotton, corn. (Perhaps someone in the class can make a *picture map*, similar to one facing p. 8, to show these facts.) Draw the main lines of land and water transportation.

4. Trace changes in transportation from the beginning of civilization. Do the same for means of communication. In what different ways do the people of your community communicate with the rest of the world? Which of these ways did a similar community have in the time of George Washington? In that of Abraham Lincoln?

5. Report on the services performed in your neighborhood by the Department of Agriculture.

6. In a hundred-word paper, compare life on a twentieth-century farm with life on the farm of colonial times.

7. How has *city* life changed since 1800?

8. What seems to you the most important of all recent inventions? Why?

9. Write a hundred words to show how the invention of farm machinery made possible the growth of cities.

10. List the inventions which seem to you to have helped most the progress toward democracy.



CHAPTER XXVII

OUR GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS, 1877 TO 1897

In the last chapter we read of the expansion of our country after Reconstruction. In this chapter we are to consider the first twenty years of the same period from another viewpoint. We are to see some new problems that our government had to face, and how far it has been able to solve them.

I. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

When **Hayes** became President (p. 409), the country was heartily tired of Reconstruction disputes and of political corruption. Hayes wished to end both. He withdrew the troops from the South; and he removed many officials whom he found to be dishonest or to have used their offices for private ends. He did still more: he tried to prevent such troubles *for the future* by starting a better way of *appointing* officials. He was the first President to take up in earnest the matter of *Civil Service Reform*.

All our *appointed* officials (outside the army, the judiciary, and the heads of departments) make up the *civil service*. Many thousands of such officeholders are employed in Washington, and much larger numbers are distributed all over the country, as in the postal and revenue services.

Ever since the days of Jackson, our civil service had been ruled by the spoils system (p. 334). Whenever a new President was chosen, hordes of politicians thronged to the capital to beg offices for themselves, or for their friends, in return for political services during the campaign. Unless the old officials had worked for the successful candidate, they were likely to lose their jobs. A man was appointed to office not because he was fit to perform its duties, but because of the number of votes he and his friends were supposed to be able to control; and, after appointment, he was expected to give his time and energy to serving his party whenever possible, even if he had to neglect his office. Naturally enough, many officials came to feel that it was all right also for them to use public office for *their own* gain, at the expense of the public.

And the country suffered in still other ways. During the critical first weeks of Lincoln's administration, while the nation seemed falling to pieces, a large part of the time and energy of the great President had to go to settling petty disputes between rival politicians about little post office appointments, — so that he once compared himself to a man assigning rooms in a palace to impatient applicants while the palace itself was burning over his head.

For some time, reformers had been urging a "**merit system**" in place of the "spoils system." They wanted candidates for government clerks, chemists, and engineers to be selected *by competitive examinations*. President Hayes gave his support to this idea; and he further shocked the angry politicians by his "Civil Service Order"

directing all government employees to keep out of electioneering activities. The politicians now began to sneer



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

at him as "Granny Hayes," calling the famous "Order" a "*snivel* service" order; and at first even the great public seemed little interested in his wise attempts at reform.

The Republican Convention of 1880 was controlled by the old kind of politicians. It would have nothing to do with Hayes. For Vice President it nominated Chester A. Arthur, whom Hayes had just dismissed from the headship of the Customs House in New

York because he used the office to gain influence in politics. The nominee for President was *James A. Garfield* of Ohio.

The Republicans won the election; and then President Garfield's life was at once made miserable by office seekers. They "waylaid him when he ventured from the shelter of his home, and followed him even to the doors of the church where he worshipped." And four months after his inauguration, he was murdered by a disappointed and half-crazy office seeker.



UNITED STATES CUSTOMS HOUSE IN NEW YORK.

This tragedy made the people take the subject of Civil Service reform seriously. It was plain that under a merit system a man like the murderer would not even have been an applicant for office. And to the happy surprise of the reformers, Arthur (who had now become President) gave honorable and whole-hearted support to the reform.

So, **in 1883, Congress finally passed a Civil Service Act** that marks a great advance. The law provided :

(1) that certain offices should be filled only from candidates who had passed government examinations ;

(2) that any President might add other offices to this list from time to time ;

(3) that no official in these lists could be removed except for unsatisfactory service ; and

(4) that a *Civil Service Commission* should be established, to oversee the working of the law.

President Arthur at once placed about 14,000 positions under the Civil Service Law ; and now more than 200,000 offices in the Federal government are filled by the merit system. Cities and States, too, are coming to use a like method. (What members of the Federal civil service are there in your community?)

II. THE TARIFF

During the Civil War, high taxes had been laid on nearly everything brought into the country. After the war, *other* taxes had been lowered ; but the high tariff duties remained. Some people objected to this ; but not much attention was given it until after Cleveland was elected President *in 1884*.

Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic President after 1860. He had been governor of New York, and had shown a stubborn honesty in trying to carry out reforms in the face of savage opposition from "Tammany Hall." Tammany was the great Democratic "machine" in New

York. It usually controlled the politics of that State; but it had become very corrupt, and Cleveland had defied it fearlessly — so that his admirers shouted the slogan, “We love him for the enemies he has made.” In the election of



GROVER CLEVELAND.

1884 he drew many votes from the Reform Republicans, or “Mugwumps,” who were dissatisfied with the platform of their own party and with its candidate, *James G. Blaine*.

Most of the reformers, however, soon deserted Cleveland because he did not carry through all the reforms they expected. For twenty-five years there had been no Democrats in the civil service; and Cleveland dismissed many old Republican officials to make room for Democratic applicants.

Those changes, however, were in the offices that had not yet been placed under the “merit system.” Cleveland more than doubled the number of offices to be filled by that system, and he gained popular support for the reform by his pithy sentence, — “Public office is a public trust.” He also stopped the frauds by which the government was losing its lands to the railroads (p. 420).

Cleveland wished to get Congress to reform the tariff, also; but here he had little success. Each year, our customs officers were collecting more money than was needed for our government. Cleveland said that the surplus tempted the government to spend money wastefully. He believed that the

government had no right to *collect from* the people any more than it *needed to use for* the people. He urged also that taxes on necessities (such as the tariff on sugar and on common grades of cloth) were the most undemocratic form of taxation. And he declared that "protection" really granted "special privileges" to a few wealthy manufacturers at the expense of the great body of the people.

In opposition to all this, the Republican party took the stand that high protection should become the *permanent* American policy.

The campaign of 1888 was fought on this issue. Western farmers had disliked protection for manufacturers, but they were held faithful to the Republicans by a promise of protection for their wool. Tammany secretly worked against Cleveland;

and the Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, won by a close vote.

William McKinley, a Congressman from Ohio, then secured the passage of a tariff bill which *raised* the duties on a great many articles; and Congress used up the Treasury surplus by big appropriations for new Civil War pensions, for a larger navy, and for Federal buildings in many States.

But the McKinley tariff was followed by a sudden rise in the prices of protected goods, and this seemed to many



A HARPER'S WEEKLY CARTOON by Thomas Nast, April 19, 1884, showing Theodore Roosevelt (then member of the New York legislature) presenting reform bills to Governor Grover Cleveland for signature.

people to prove Cleveland right. In 1892 Cleveland again ran against Harrison, and this time was victorious.

The Democratic platform had promised to reduce tariff duties, and such a bill was now passed by the House. But in the Senate several Democrats voted for amendments that would secure protection for special interests in their States, such as steel in Pennsylvania and sugar in Louisiana. This changed the bill into what the President bluntly called a measure of "party perfidy." It did somewhat lower the McKinley duties, however, and so Cleveland did not veto it; but neither would he sign it. (Find the provision in the Constitution that applies to this conduct of the President.)

Four years later (1896), the Republicans elected William McKinley (p. 441), and the next year Congress passed *the Dingley Tariff* with the highest rates in our history. From that time till now, tariff reform has been one of the principal questions discussed before every election. The Republicans have won most of the elections and our tariffs on the whole continue to give a high rate of protection.

The opponents of the tariff argue that most of the goods which are protected — like woolen goods, leather goods, and steel and iron products — are made by the big "trusts," which do not seem to be in great need of protection. During the years after the Dingley Tariff was passed more trusts came into existence than ever before — most of them in the "protected" industries. This gave rise to the saying: "The tariff is mother of the trusts." ("Trust" was a name used for large combinations of corporations; p. 452.)

On the other hand *the friends of protection* claim that it is necessary for our manufacturers to charge more than European manufacturers do, because *wages are so much higher in America than in Europe*. They argue also that the tariff helps business, and so *keeps more men in steady jobs*. "Protection for American business and American labor" has become their

slogan. These are good arguments if it can be shown that wages are enough higher to make up for the high cost of the food and clothing that the American workingman has to buy.

III. WHAT KIND OF MONEY DO WE WANT?

Ever since colonial times, one of the hardest problems for our government had been to keep enough money in circulation. The demand for more and "cheaper" money had caused Shays' Rebellion (p. 197) and the hard feeling between the West and the East in Jackson's time. Since the Civil War, two similar demands had arisen, in the West. As a result of the hard times following the war, a *Greenback Party* had urged the government to put out more paper money. After 1876, this question took on a new form: the farmers and miners of the West began to demand "*free silver*."

Until 1873 anyone could take gold or silver bars to a government mint and receive back the full value in coin. This was called "**free coinage**." In the early part of the century, an ounce of gold was worth sixteen ounces of silver for jewelry or plate or in manufacturing of any kind; and so a law ordered that our silver dollar should be sixteen times as heavy as a gold dollar.

But after 1850 the California mines increased the supply of gold and made it cheaper. Sixteen ounces of silver were now worth \$1.03 in gold. People melted their silver dollars down into bars, to sell for that profit; and for many years a silver dollar was rarely seen. So in 1873 our government stopped coining silver altogether.

But in that same year, new silver mines in Colorado and Nevada began to flood the market with silver. It became cheaper and cheaper—so that finally a silver dollar of the old kind would have been worth only about 66 cents in gold.

The mine owners now began loudly to demand "*free silver*" again at the old ratio of 16 to 1. And they were supported

by the Western farmers, who were always in debt and so favored any measure that would put more money into circulation. But the business men of the East did not wish such a law. They knew that European countries with which we traded would not accept cheap silver dollars, and so they feared that our gold would all be sent out of the country.

Still the demand for free silver became so strong that Congress passed two laws (one in 1878 and one in 1890) providing for the purchase of large amounts of silver every year. But this did not satisfy the Free Silver men, who were joined by the Greenbackers. Many workingmen, too, and the small business men of the West, took up the cry for cheaper money.

The movement grew into the Populist party, — the first important “third party” since the Civil War. It called not only for free silver but also for an income tax, postal savings banks, the Australian ballot, direct election of United States Senators, an eight-hour day in mines and factories, and government ownership of railways and mines and water power. In 1892, General James B. Weaver, the Populist candidate for President, received a million votes, or about a twelfth of all. (The Populist ideas all seemed “red communism” to the conservative East in 1890. Which of them have been put into law since then?)

The Democrats Split into Two Factions

The uncertainty about money was one cause why in 1893 a new “panic” struck the country — the most severe we had ever known. Six hundred banks closed their doors, and fifteen thousand business firms failed. Farmers lost their homes on small mortgages, and the cities were crowded with hundreds of thousands of unemployed and desperate men. Large towns had to open “soup kitchens” to feed the hungry poor, and many cities, for the first time in our history, set up “relief works,” to furnish work and wages.

Cleveland persuaded Congress again to stop the purchase of silver. This angered the Western Democrats, who, in general, were free-silver men. They accused the President of being a servant of the "Money Power" of Wall Street, and of favoring the rich at the expense of the poor.

Then, in 1894, the workers in the Pullman Car shops, near Chicago, "struck" against a cut in their wages. Other railway workers sympathized with them, and finally refused to handle any train that used Pullman cars. Traffic was held up over most of the country; and at Chicago, the storm center, a city mob burned hundreds of cars. Cleveland finally sent troops to that city, to make it possible for trains to run. This act broke the strike. Cleveland thought it his duty to do this so as to prevent interference with the United States mails. The business men of the country praised him warmly; but the radical part of the Democratic party accused him again of taking sides against labor.

The Democratic Convention of 1896 was controlled by the free-silver branch of the party. A young Nebraska lawyer, William Jennings Bryan, swept the great assembly by a splendid speech of passionate oratory, and, at the close, he turned to the "gold" delegates from the East, exclaiming, "You shall not crucify mankind upon this cross of gold!" With wild enthusiasm the Convention declared for "free silver," and for much more of the Populist program, by a vote of two to one, and then nominated Bryan.

Mr. Bryan had already become known in the West as "the Boy Orator of the Platte." The "Cross of Gold" speech made him famous in the East also. For a time, conservative Democrats and Republicans alike reviled him as a selfish trickster. The *Louisville Courier-Journal*, a leading Democratic paper, denounced him as a "dishonest dodger" and a "political faker"; and the Republican *New York Tribune* styled him "apt at lies, forgeries, and blasphemies, . . . the rival of Benedict Arnold and Jefferson Davis in treason to the Republic." Before many years, however,

everyone was obliged to grant that he was sincere. Three times defeated for the presidency, he was none the less a tremendous influence in American life.

The Populists now joined the Bryan Democrats ; but the " Gold Democrats " held another convention and put up a candidate of their own. This split enabled the Republicans to elect their candidate, William McKinley (p. 442), upon a platform declaring for a high tariff and " sound money." A few years later, Alaska began to pour streams of gold into our mints, so that for a time the old need for a larger bulk of money ceased to trouble us ; and in 1900 a law made gold our only standard of money.



WATCHING THE PROCESSION OF THE A. F. of L. (p. 454) at its meeting in 1916, from the White House balcony: left, *Woodrow Wilson* (p. 484); center, *Samuel Gompers* (p. 454); right, *Secretary Wilson* of the Department of Labor.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BIG BUSINESS AND LABOR, 1877-1897

McKinley's presidency was largely taken up with an unexpected foreign war and a wholly new set of foreign questions. Before we study those matters, however, we must turn back to consider, in one more chapter, still another set of problems that pressed for attention during the last quarter of the nineteenth century — and on down to the present day. And these new problems, we shall see, were a natural result of that rapid growth of our country which we read about in chapter xxvi.

Business expansion after the Civil War had gone hand in hand with *business consolidation*. After all that was said in chapter xxvi about new mills and factories, you may suppose, perhaps, that there were a great many more in 1897 than in 1877. But this was not the fact. Quite the contrary. The *output* of our woolen mills, for instance, doubled in the ten years from 1880 to 1890; but the *number of mills* shrank by one half.

In nearly every line of industry except farming, multitudes of small enterprises gave way to a smaller number of bigger ones. Little, disconnected railway companies merged into fewer but larger ones; small stores into great department stores, or into chains of stores under one management; the little flour mills that used to dot the country side, one on every stream and near every village, disappeared because they could not compete with the huge, better organized mills, with better machinery, at such flour centers as Minneapolis. The man of small capital, as a rule, no longer owned and managed his own business: instead he became one of many *stockholders* in a huge *corporation*.

Such combinations had both advantages and dangers. Each great corporation had vast capital. It could seek out and hire skilled managers. It could buy the best machinery, and throw older kinds on the scrap heap. And it could avoid many kinds of former waste. The old village slaughterhouse had to throw away horns, hoofs, liver, and intestines. But the great packing centers at Chicago or Kansas City now worked up this former refuse — “everything except the squeal” — into glue, buttons, hair-brush and tooth-brush bristles, celluloid articles, and hosts of other “by-products.”

Thus large-scale production brought huge profits to the corporations. The public, too, got some of the saving — in the form of cheaper goods. But many people feel that the public does not yet get its fair share. They think the corporations should be satisfied with a smaller gain, so that prices might be still lower, and the wages of the workmen higher.

Before long, too, people came to fear the tremendous influence that these vast corporations exercise on legislatures and congress to get laws passed in their favor. So, many attempts have been made to curb this power.

The People First Try to Regulate Railroads

In many ways the uniting of different lines of railroads under one company proved very useful to the people. In the early days of railroading, it was still very tiresome to travel a long distance, because one had to change frequently from one line to another. Often it was necessary to use a stagecoach for several miles between two roads and to cross rivers on clumsy ferryboats. Different lines of railroad sometimes used tracks of different widths, so that a car for one *could* not be transferred to another.

Just before the Civil War, however, a few "trunk lines" had been organized, so that a man could travel from New York to Chicago without changing cars. Soon after the war, this movement went much further. Competing lines between the same two points began to "cut" rates in order to steal business from each other. Often the poorer line was ruined and was bought up by the richer one — *which then had a monopoly of the business in its district*. Before 1900, the Goulds controlled 14,000 miles of road in the Southwest; the Vanderbilts, 20,000 miles in the Northwest; the Morgans, 12,000 in the Southeast. Almost every short line became part of some big system. A few wealthy companies were doing the transportation business of the whole country.

Here began a danger to the people. A big railway company controlled *all* the transportation over a large district. It could charge any rate it liked — if only it left the shippers enough money so that they would not stop shipping altogether. Some railroad men frankly stated that the rule in fixing freight-rates was, "All the traffic will bear."

But the railroads had been built very largely out of public land grants. Besides the grants made by Congress (pp. 407, 419), it was common for a long time for States and even towns to vote large "bonuses" of land and money to get lines to come their way. Much of the West could not have been

settled without the railroad to bring supplies and to carry back to market its wheat and cattle. So the wish for a "road" was perfectly natural. But the people neglected to bargain for proper conditions. Instead, the railroads were left to do about as they pleased — once they had secured the bonuses.

And so several abuses grew up in railway management, besides the excessive rates on freight and passengers. A railway did not treat all people alike. It *discriminated* in favor of big corporations and big cities. That is, it carried goods cheaper than the regular rates for big corporations — and so of course had to raise rates on the rest of its business. And it carried goods more cheaply from Chicago to Minneapolis than from Chicago to some small town *part way between* the two large terminals. This meant that the farmers living all through the territory, away from big centers, paid more for goods they had to buy, and got less for what they had to sell, than people who lived in cities.

Moreover, railways made a regular custom of granting "passes" (good for whole families) to State legislators, Congressmen, judges, editors, and other public men whose friendship the roads might sometime want. Of course, rates had to be kept higher for all other people, to make up for this large amount of free transportation.

So came attempts at public control. When the panic of 1873 came on, the farmers and small towns of the West had already begun to recover from their wild enthusiasm for railroads. Instead, they had become bitter about the way those corporations controlled their lives; and the suffering during the panic increased this bitter feeling.

The farmers throughout the West had formed societies of "Grangers." A "grange" was a farmers' club. At the meetings, out of doors, or perhaps at some country school-house, the men talked politics while the women prepared a picnic supper. The granges within a State were united into

a State federation. The Grange was the first organized farmers' movement.

And now about 1873 the Grangers set out to stop the railway abuses. They finally succeeded in getting several State legislatures to pass laws (1) forbidding "passes"; (2) ordering all roads to publish their rates and to charge all their customers alike; and (3) fixing what the legislatures considered fair rates for the railroads to charge.

The roads protested such laws; but in 1877 the Supreme Court decided that the public had the right to control organizations of this kind through the government.

This decision was based upon the idea that a railroad company is not a *private* corporation but a *public service* corporation. Before it could build at all, it had had to get a charter from State or Nation, *giving it authority to secure right-of-way* as a "public carrier." The public makes such special grants only because it expects valuable service in return. On a similar principle, the English law had always regulated inns and stage-coach lines, since their profit came from the use of highways built by the public.

But the State laws secured by the Grangers applied only to freight and passengers carried *within* a given State. Only Congress had authority over commerce *between* the States. So the reformers turned to Congress for help; and in 1887 the first *Interstate Commerce Act* was passed. This law forbade free passes, all discrimination between shippers, and a higher charge for any short haul than for a longer one. It ordered that all rates be posted publicly, and it also established an *Interstate Commerce Commission*, to see that the law was enforced. Twenty years later another Act gave the Commission the right to fix "reasonable rates" (p. 480).

Next, the People Tried to Regulate Other Big Business

Before the Civil War, *competition* between the many firms doing the same kind of business had kept prices down. But

now competition was disappearing. Not only had the small firms grown into big corporations : these had begun to unite into still larger combinations, called "trusts." We could not claim the right to control trusts because of having given them any special privilege. *And yet some public regulation became necessary*, because, in practice, a trust was a monopoly. When it was once established, no small firm was strong enough to try to do business in its field. If competitors appeared, the powerful trust could afford to kill off their business by cutting prices below cost for a while — making up for it by raising prices afterward.

The first real "trust" was the *Standard Oil Trust*. As new uses had been discovered for oil, hundreds of firms had gone into the business of producing and refining it. In their eagerness to outsell each other, they sold their products cheaper and cheaper, until the smaller producers began to lose money and were forced to sell out their business to bigger companies. Then, in 1882, a number of *large* corporations under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller decided to unite their concerns into one. They chose a group of directors, or "trustees," to manage the combined affairs of all the member companies. The name *trust* was given to this managing group. (We use the term now for any large combination of capitalists.)

Once this sort of combination was started, it grew rapidly. Railroads were so eager to have the business of such a large concern that they offered more favorable rates to it than to small companies ; and when this was forbidden by law, they long continued to do the same thing *secretly* by paying back "rebates" and by other underhand methods. This made it still harder for small producers to do business.

The trust introduced more economical methods into the oil business. It learned how to use old waste matter for candles, paraffin, medicines, perfumes, flavoring extracts,

and innumerable other things. But it was able to fix the price of all its products about as it liked, since it soon controlled ninety-five per cent of all the oil in the country.

Moreover, some of the directors invested in other big concerns — especially in railways — and became directors of those companies too. This “interlocking” of the big interests gave them more power than was safe for the public.

Within a few years after the organization of the Standard Oil Trust, companies in other industries began to combine in the same way. It was not long before the output and price of sugar, meat, crackers, copper, flour, tobacco, gum, farm machinery, and many other things used daily by the American people, were controlled by a few giant trusts.

The largest of all was the *United States Steel Company*, organized in 1901, with a capital of over a billion dollars. This trust owned not only most of the big iron mines in northern Minnesota and Michigan: it owned also the great steel mills which worked up the ore, and the railroad and steamship lines which carried it, and the coal mines which furnished the fuel for smelting it. It employed hundreds of thousands of workmen, and built up fortunes for its stockholders such as the world had never dreamed of.

Long before the Steel Trust was formed, the people had been trying to do away with “trusts.” In 1890 Congress passed the *Sherman Anti-Trust Bill*, — so named for Senator John Sherman who made many speeches in its favor. Said he, — “If we will not endure a king as a *political* power, we should not endure a king over the production, transportation, and sale of any of the necessities of life.”

The law declared that any “combination in restraint of trade” was illegal; but for ten years little attempt was made to enforce it. Then, in the administration of Roosevelt, the courts did order several trusts to disband. But it was found almost impossible really to break up a trust

into the smaller corporations which had formed it. The Standard Oil *pretended* to dissolve; but the same men that had managed the "trust" continued to own most of the stock in the separate companies into which it "dissolved"; and the old Trust directors served on "interlocking" boards of directors for the various companies. So the combination carried on its business much as before.

FURTHER READINGS

Casson, *The Romance of Steel*, and Tarbell, *The Standard Oil Trust*, give the story of how these giant combinations grew. A good brief account is given in Thompson, *History of the United States*. Chapters on railroad combinations may be found in Brigham, *From Trail to Railway*. Other good readings may be found in Barstow, *Progress of a United People*; Hart, *Source Book*; Johnson, *We and Our Work* (ch. xii).

The Workers now Strengthen Their Unions, to Deal on More Equal Terms with Powerful Employers

Soon after 1865, the labor unions (p. 277) in each trade began to form a *national union*, with many local branches. **Then in 1869 a great national union for workers in all trades was formed.** This was *the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor*. It grew slowly at first, but before many years it had about a million members. Its motto was, "The injury of one is the concern of all," and its object was to secure higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. It did succeed in getting many good labor laws; but after nearly twenty years of usefulness it gave place to a stronger organization.

This was *the American Federation of Labor*. More than three million workers now belong to the national unions which make up the Federation. Each union continues to look after its own affairs as before, though it may call on the Federation for help and advice.

The Federation has great influence not only with the separate unions but also in politics. *Samuel Gompers*, one of the

organizers of the Federation, became its first president in 1881 ; and, excepting for one year, he was reelected annually until his death in 1924. Long before that time, he had become one of the important figures in American public life. Labor owes much to his cautious but firm and courageous leadership ; and hostile capitalists, who once reviled him, came, toward the last, to praise and honor him.

You remember that an early labor movement about a hundred years ago had helped secure our free public schools, manhood suffrage, and the beginning of the ten-hour working-day—in place of the old cruel “ dawn-to-dark ” day. **The new labor movement has made many other gains.**

An eight-hour working-day has been secured for all government employees and all railroad men, and also, in many States, for workers in factories and mines and in most skilled trades. *Child labor* in factories has been forbidden by law in most of the manufacturing States. A *Department of Labor* has been added to the Federal government, and a *Children's Bureau* to look out for the welfare of children. Many *factory laws* have been passed requiring employers to “ fence in ” dangerous machinery and to provide fresh air and light for their workers. *State inspectors* are appointed to see that factories are properly built. Several States have *Compensation Acts* which provide that a worker who is injured while at work shall receive a money payment from his employers without costly suits at law.

Some of these gains have been secured gradually and by means of newspapers, pamphlets, and speeches explaining so clearly the need of reform that public opinion has taken the side of the workers. But **the only direct means by which the unions can obtain their demands** from their employers **is the strike**. If all workers belonged to unions, this would be a very powerful weapon indeed. As it is, strikes often fail because the employers are able to fill the strikers' places

with men who are willing to go on with the work at low wages and under poor conditions. The unions call such men "scabs," and favor the *closed shop* — a system in which each worker would have to belong to the union of his trade. Many other people, however, argue for the *open shop*, on the ground that each person should have the right to choose for what wages and what hours he will work.

The *wastefulness of the strike* has long been recognized, as well as the fact that the general public usually suffers more than anyone else when a strike stops the production of some necessity, such as coal. But sometimes the unions can find no other way to get any attention for their demands.

More and more, however, strikes are coming to be settled by arbitration — that is, by an agreement between employer and employees to accept the decision of an impartial committee. Some States keep special arbitration boards for that purpose; and in a few cases the national government has attempted to arbitrate serious disputes.

Meantime, one remedy that is beginning to gain ground is the *sharing of profits* by the workers. Some wide-awake employers are even offering their workmen the right to choose workmen's councils to *share in the management* of the business. (Are there examples of this in your neighborhood?) If such a plan should become more common, coöperation might take the place of conflict. One of the great American labor leaders, *John Mitchell*, has said, "There is no necessary hostility between labor and capital. Neither can do without the other."

FURTHER READINGS

A very good account of the labor problem written for young people may be found in Johnson, *We and Our Work* — especially the chapters headed "Labor Organizations" and "Through Coöperation to Peace and Prosperity." Other good accounts are given in Orth, *Armies of Labor*, and Beard, *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*.



THE OREGON — which did not yet have this wireless equipment when she rounded the Horn to fight Spain (p. 460).

CHAPTER XXIX

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A WORLD POWER

I. THE UNITED STATES AND SPANISH AMERICA

Ever since the days of John Quincy Adams (p. 266) **far-sighted men had hoped that all the American republics might be joined in a friendly union.** But before the Civil War the senators from the slave States had been unwilling to have the United States send delegates to a meeting in which there would also be delegates from the negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo. After the war, *Seward* (p. 386) tried to accomplish what Adams had failed to do, but Congress was so occupied with Reconstruction affairs that it took no interest in his plans.

The statesman to make the first real progress in this matter was **James G. Blaine.** Blaine was twice Secretary of State: first to Garfield and Arthur, and four years later to Harrison. In 1889 he succeeded in bringing together at Washington a *Pan-American Congress*. This meeting declared itself in favor of arbitrating all misunderstandings between American nations. It also favored treaties by which American countries should give each other advantages in commerce. Most important of all, it established a permanent Bureau of American Republics maintained by

twenty-one countries, with its offices at Washington (picture facing p. 467). Since then other Pan-American Congresses have been held — in the City of Mexico, in Rio Janeiro, and in Buenos Aires.

In President Cleveland's second administration the United States was called on to act as protector of Venezuela against England. For years, Venezuela and British Guiana had disagreed over their boundary. Finally gold was discovered in the disputed territory, and England prepared to seize the land by force. Venezuela appealed to the United States, and our government proposed that the question be settled by arbitration. At first the British government declined. Cleveland then published a message to Congress in which he made it clear that he considered the refusal sufficient cause for war. But the *people* of England were strongly opposed to such a war, and their government soon consented to have the matter settled by arbitration. An international commission, perfectly satisfactory to us, studied the matter carefully and upheld England's claims.

II. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR OF 1898

By 1824 Spain's vast empire in America had dwindled to the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. Spanish rule in Cuba was very bad. Taxes were high; Spain controlled Cuban trade in her own interests; and the Spanish officials despised the native Cubans, even when of Spanish descent. The island had rebelled several times, but each time Spain had succeeded in crushing the revolt.

In 1895 a new Cuban rising began. General Weyler, who was sent from Spain to put it down, used great cruelty, not only toward the insurgents, but also to women and children. He collected them in *concentration camps*, where they were kept cooped up in barbed wire inclosures without proper food or shelter. Here they died by thousands of disease

and starvation. The "Gem of the Antilles" was being turned into a graveyard.

Americans were horrified by tales of this Spanish cruelty. And along with our sympathy for the Cubans, we had a desire to protect our own interests in the island. By 1895 many Americans had sugar plantations there, and our Cuban trade amounted to \$100,000,000 a year. The war ruined this trade. American business men wished to have the destruction of property in Cuba stopped and the profitable trade resumed.

When McKinley became President in 1897, he hoped to get a peaceful settlement. He did persuade Spain to recall Weyler and even to offer Cuba generous terms. The Cubans, however, were now unwilling to accept anything short of independence.

Then came an unforeseen incident which brought us into the war. The American battleship *Maine* was visiting in the harbor of Havana. On the night of February 15, 1898, it was blown up by a mine, and two hundred sixty men were killed. It is fairly certain now that the Spanish authorities had nothing to do with the affair, though we have never been able to learn just how it happened. But at the time we felt sure that Spain was to blame. The cry, "Remember the *Maine*!" rang through our land. President McKinley finally yielded to public opinion and sent a message to Congress calling for war. Congress then passed



HARVESTING SUGAR CANE IN CUBA.
One "worker" is sucking juice from a stalk, — a favorite way of resting.

the resolution : (1) that Cuba was by right free and independent ; (2) that Spain must withdraw from Cuba ; and (3) that we would see that she did so, and *would withdraw our own armies as soon as order was restored.*

The Cuban Campaign. — As soon as war was declared, a Spanish squadron under *Admiral Cervera* was sent to the Caribbean with the purpose of attacking our ports. This fleet slipped into the harbor at *Santiago* without being observed by our own fleet, which was on the lookout for them ; but it was soon discovered and bottled up there by the Americans. (Our battleship *Oregon*, stationed on the Pacific coast, steamed 14,000 miles around Cape Horn and reached Santiago in time to be of real assistance.)

General Shafter was sent with an American army to help the navy capture Santiago and Cervera's fleet. The Spaniards had strong entrenchments on *San Juan Hill* and at the village of *El Caney* near by ; but in a three-day battle, on July 1, 2, and 3, they were driven from their defenses.

One of the most gallant exploits of the war was performed in this battle by *Colonel Theodore Roosevelt* and his regiment of *Rough Riders*. At the outbreak of the war, Roosevelt had resigned his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy (p. 476) to become Lieutenant Colonel of the First Volunteer Regiment of Cavalry. This regiment consisted largely of cowboys and ranchers from the West, among whom were many old companions of Roosevelt's. It marched all through the night of June 30, so as to be in at the fight about Santiago, and its splendid charge right up San Juan Hill and into the enemies' entrenchments won lasting fame for the *Rough Riders* and their gallant commander.

On the morning of July 3, when it was plain that the Spaniards could not hold Santiago, Admiral Cervera made a desperate attempt to save his fleet by a dash out of the harbor. The Americans pursued ; and in a long running battle every ship in the Spanish squadron was destroyed, and every Span-

iard engaged was killed or taken captive. Not one of our own ships was harmed, though one sailor was killed and one wounded.

The news of these victories by land and sea reached the United States on July 4, and made the celebration of that day one of thanksgiving and joy throughout the country. A month later Spain sued for peace.

The War in the Pacific. — Meantime another part of the American navy had been winning honors in the Far East. When war was declared, Commodore Dewey was in command of a squadron stationed at Hong Kong. Six hundred miles away lay the *Philippine Islands* — Spain's chief possession in the Pacific — defended by a fleet of ten battleships. Dewey received orders to capture or destroy this fleet, so that it could not be sent against the west coast of the United States.

Dewey sailed at once for *Manila Bay*, which he entered on May 1, over waters strewn with mines, and in the face of the enemy's fire. Within a few hours he had completely destroyed the Spanish fleet, without himself losing a ship or a man. He then blockaded the harbor, until an American army could cross the Pacific to take the city.

The treaty of peace was finally signed in Paris in December, 1898. Spain granted Cuba her independence, and also ceded to the United States *Porto Rico* (which General Miles was in the act of taking when peace was declared), *Guam* (a convenient coaling station in the Ladrões not far from the Philippines), and the *Philippines*. In return for this last group of islands, the United States paid Spain \$20,000,000.

Two Other Matters Relating to the War are of Interest

1. The eagerness with which Southerners as well as Northerners had enlisted in volunteer regiments was good proof that the old feeling between the two sections had largely died out.

There could be no more doubt as to the loyalty of the men of the South to the flag.

2. Americans were justly proud of both army and navy ; but they had been shocked at *the inefficiency and mismanagement shown by the War Department at Washington*. Our men were sent to battle in midsummer in a tropical country with the hot woolen clothing they wore when fighting the Indians on the northern plains ; the meat trust sold the government spoiled beef for the army ; medicines were lacking ; the means of transporting supplies were poor. More soldiers died of disease in training camps in the United States than fell in battle in Cuba. After the fighting was over, Colonel Roosevelt and his brother officers published a statement of these abuses. This led to sweeping reforms — for which at a later time we were to be very grateful.

III. THE UNITED STATES ACQUIRES NEW POSSESSIONS

Cuban Independence. — From the beginning we had said that we would leave Cuba as soon as an orderly government had been set up (p. 460). The President appointed General Leonard Wood as military governor there to keep order until a new Cuban government was formed. During this time the Americans helped the Cubans improve sanitation and build up their schools, and in 1902 they left the island to govern itself. However, in our treaty we reserved the right to intervene in case of revolution or disorder. We have used this right once, when an insurrection broke out in 1906. As soon as order was restored, our officials again left the island.

Before our troops left Cuba in 1902, a part of them showed greater heroism than any battle calls for and won a **victory more useful for mankind than any between contending armies**. A group of army doctors and officers offered their lives to find out how to put an end to yellow fever and malaria, the most terrible scourges of tropical countries. The

first thing necessary was to know surely the cause of the disease. The old theory had been that yellow fever was contagious. The gallant American investigators slept for twenty nights in rooms filled with clothing that had been used by yellow-fever sufferers. Not one of the group caught the disease — which proved that it was not contagious.

Major Walter Reed (for whom the great Reed Hospital at Washington is named) had already been trying to prove that yellow fever and malaria were caused by the bite of two different species of mosquitoes. The daring experimenters next exposed themselves to the bite of these insects. After four or five days, several of them came down with the disease, which proved fatal to one of the group, — *Dr. Jesse W. Lazear*. The Lazear Memorial tablet in Johns Hopkins Hospital bears this fit inscription :

“ With more than the courage and devotion of the soldier, he risked and lost his life to show how a fearful pestilence is communicated and how its ravages may be prevented.”

In the few months remaining before Cuba was ready for us to keep our pledge and withdraw our army, General Wood cleared the island of the terrible disease that had plagued it for centuries by destroying the breeding places of the mosquito. This service counts hardly less to the honor of America than the striking fact that we faithfully kept our pledge to the rich but helpless island.

To **Porto Rico** we had made no pledges, and that island we kept as a colony. All Porto Ricans are now by law citizens of the United States. They elect their own legislature, but the President appoints their governor. It is a small island ; but it raises many things which we need — especially sugar and coffee. There are few countries in the world with which we have a more profitable trade.

Our conquest of the **Philippines** brought us a more difficult problem. Many Americans urged that if we kept

them we should be breaking our rule of keeping out of the affairs of the Old World. These "Anti-imperialists" said, too, that to rule distant colonies would give us a greed for conquest and would be contrary to our principles of self-government.

On the other hand, the "Expansionists" argued that Spain was too weak and too poor to govern the islands well herself. Indeed they were in the act of rebelling against Spanish rule when we took them. A small group of the Filipinos was trained and educated; but there were several races on the islands—some of them quite uncivilized. Raids by these savage islanders against the more civilized districts were common, along with other constant disorders. If we

did not keep the Philippines, some other power would probably try to seize them; and they were too weak to defend themselves, and not ready for self-government.



RICE HARVESTING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

President McKinley hesitated for some time between these arguments, before agreeing to that part of the treaty with Spain that gave us the islands. And there was a general understand-

ing from the first that the United States would give the Filipinos self-government, and even independence, as fast as they were ready for it. But the Filipinos already felt quite able to govern themselves. Their leaders had helped the United States against Spain. Now they rose against American rule, and it cost us eight times as much to put down the revolt as we had paid Spain for the islands.

The rebellion was subdued in 1902. Since that time the United States has gradually given the Filipinos more and more of a share in their own government. Since 1916 they have elected their own legislature; and most of the officials are now natives. Congress still has power to pass laws concerning them; and the President appoints the Governor General and some of the other most important officials.

Under American rule, schools have been built, sanitary conditions improved, and the people have been taught better methods of farming and manufacturing. But communication is poor, and much of the surface of the islands is still little better than a jungle.

Indirectly the War Brought us Other Possessions

The Hawaiian Islands had been a convenient stopping place for our ships on their way across the Pacific, ever since the days of the clipper-ship trade with China. Almost the first foreigners in the islands were American missionaries. Much of the industry of the islands was developed by American money, and large numbers of Americans made their homes there.

The native government had never been very stable, and in 1893 an insurrection took place against the queen. Americans living in the islands helped with the rebellion. They hoped, as did many of the Hawaiians, that the United States would annex the islands. At first we refused; but when the war with Spain broke out, we found them so useful as a coaling station on the way to the Philippines, that Congress annexed them. Hawaii is now a Territory, and all Hawaiians are American citizens.

After the close of the war, we also annexed *Tutuila*, the most important of the Samoan islands, and took possession likewise of several small islands elsewhere in the Pacific for naval stations.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Show on a map the territory we gained in our war with Spain. Show Dewey's route to Manila Bay, and the trip of the *Oregon*. Locate the battles mentioned in the text.

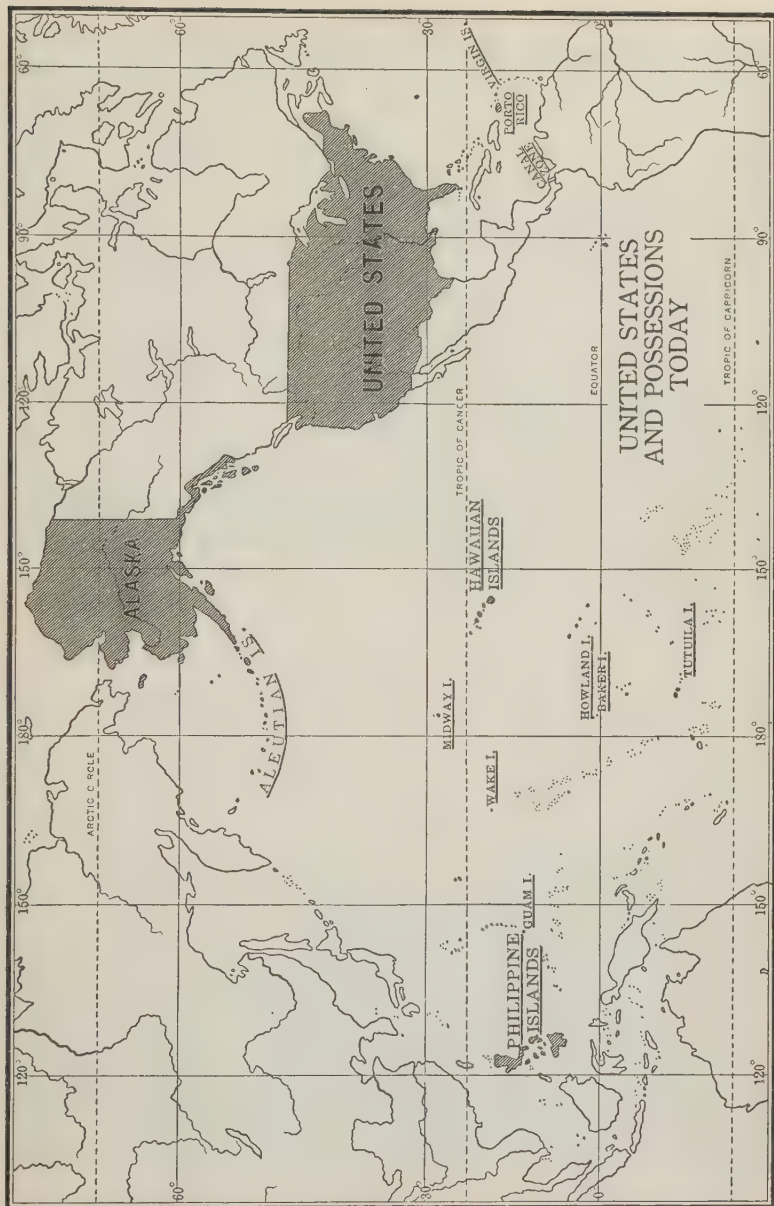
2. Let members of the class report on our island possessions. Of what value are they to us? In what way are they a burden to us? Let members of the class report on interesting incidents of the Spanish-American War. Good accounts may be found in Barstow, *Progress of a United People*; Hart, *Source Book*; Ross, *Heroes of Our War with Spain*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*.

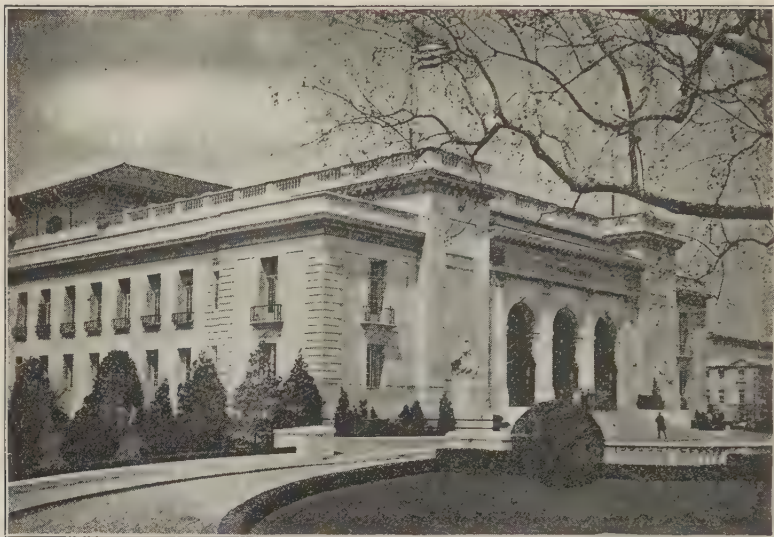
3. How do Territories differ from States? Do you think Hawaii will ever become a State? What about Alaska?

IV. WE CHAMPION "THE OPEN DOOR" FOR CHINA

Those who had favored annexing the Philippines had hoped that it would add to our trade with the Far East, *especially with China*. We were no longer a nation of farmers; we were manufacturing much more than we could use. China, like South America, had a large farming population, and needed our manufactured goods. Besides, China had vast undeveloped resources; and Americans had the energy and capital to help develop them, and wanted a share in the huge profits that Europeans were already getting there.

A wild scramble to control Chinese trade had begun. France, Germany, Russia, and England all had large "spheres of influence," as they were called, — stretches of territory where China granted special privileges, or even the sole right to trade, to some stronger nation. It began to look as if there would be no China left. Then in 1899 John Hay, McKinley's able Secretary of State, announced what he called the policy of the "Open Door" for China; namely, that no power should try to gain territory or *exclusive* rights in any part of that country, but that her trade should be open to all nations alike. England at once gave her support to





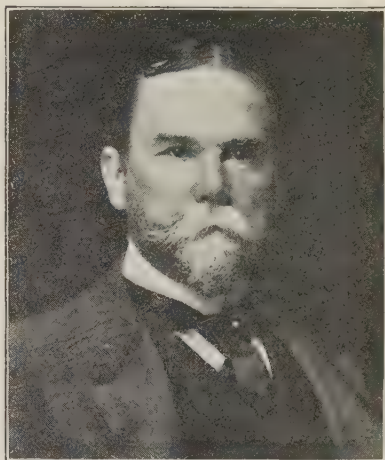
PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. — The gift of Andrew Carnegie to the Bureau of American Republics (p. 458). Said to have the most beautiful interior of any building in the world.



A HAVANA STREET TO-DAY.

this plan, and it did much to keep China from being divided up among the nations of the world.

Chinese patriots felt bitter about all this interference. They formed a secret society, called "The Boxers," with the motto, China for the Chinese. In 1900 the Boxers led an armed rising to drive out "the foreign devils." They killed a number of missionaries and the German minister, and besieged the other foreign legations in Peking. The Chinese government seemed quite unable to put down the uprising. The United States then joined Japan and the European powers in restoring order. China was forced to pay large sums of money to the nations whose subjects had lost their lives; but the United States was able to prevent Chinese territory from being seized.



JOHN HAY.

In 1900, while Secretary Hay was discussing Chinese affairs with other countries, **President McKinley was re-elected on the issue of "imperialism"** — or the policy of adding to our possessions and increasing our influence abroad. Only a few months after his inauguration he was assassinated by an anarchist. He was a gentle and kindly man, and was deeply mourned by the nation.

The murdered President was **succeeded by his Vice President, the energetic and impetuous Roosevelt**. During his administration, most of our foreign problems had to do with Spanish America. But in the Far East a frightful

war broke out between Russia and Japan, in which little Japan surprised the world by her victories. This war interested our government deeply, partly because the whole civilized world was shocked at the horrors of the war, and partly because we wished to safeguard Chinese territory, which both Russia and Japan were threatening. In 1904 President Roosevelt invited the warring countries to send commissioners to Portsmouth in New Hampshire, where terms of peace were drawn up. The principle of the Open Door was recognized in the treaty, and both Russia and Japan promised to leave Chinese territory intact.

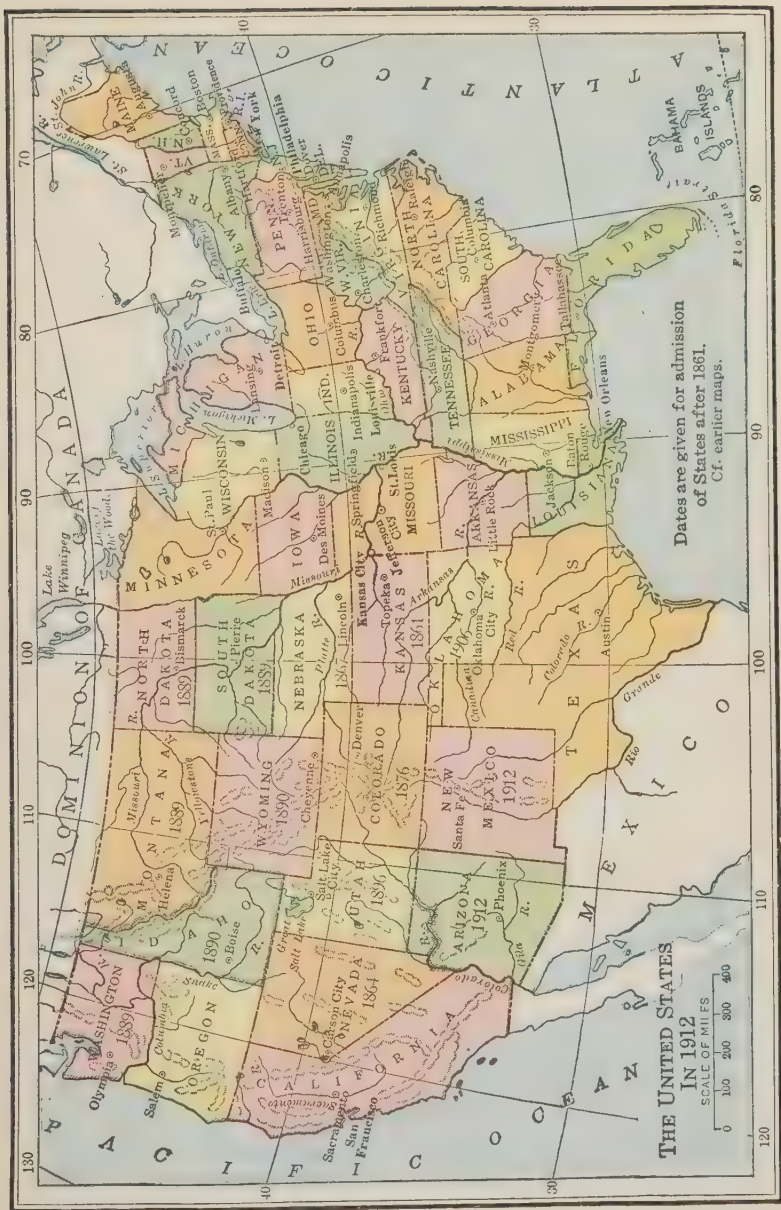
V. THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE CARIBBEAN

One result of the Spanish-American War, and the sixty-six day trip of the *Oregon*, was a new interest in **a canal across the Isthmus of Panama**. Our trade with the Orient was developing, too; and there was a crying need for a shorter route between our Atlantic and Pacific ports.

Unfortunately in 1850 we had made a treaty with England in which each country had agreed not to try to gain "exclusive" rights in any canal across the Isthmus. But it was now clear that a canal over which we should have exclusive rights was exactly what we needed. Several attempts were made to get England to give up the treaty; and in 1901 John Hay succeeded in getting the old agreement replaced by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

In this treaty England consented to our building a canal, and fortifying it; but the tolls paid by ships passing through it were to be *the same for all nations*. Many Americans thought our ships should not have to pay any tolls. Congress even passed a law exempting American ships from tolls; but it was soon repealed. (Why should any tolls be collected? What plan is followed by the *Suez Canal*?)

We had to have more than the consent of Great Britain, however, before we could begin the canal. There were two



possible routes across the isthmus — the shortest one through *Panama* (one State of the *United States of Colombia*), and the other in *Nicaragua*. A French company had already started to build a canal over the first route, but had become bankrupt after spending about \$250,000,000. The French were willing to sell us their rights, but Colombia refused to sell us a right of way.

The Nicaragua route was longer, and Roosevelt felt it would be a mistake to put the canal there. He felt too that Colombia was holding out in the hope of getting an unreasonable amount of money. The people of the little *State of Panama* were anxious to have the trade that would come to them if the canal went through. So, with secret encouragement from our government, they now declared themselves independent of Colombia and offered to sell us the right of way.

The United States at once recognized Panama's independence; and in February, 1904, the Senate ratified a treaty in which we received the canal zone, ten miles wide, and paid for it \$10,000,000. We also promised to pay a sum of \$250,000 a year, and we guaranteed Panama's independence — that is, we promised to keep Colombia from trying to force her back into the old union again. Colombia felt that we had unfairly taken from her a part of her territory; and in 1921 we paid \$25,000,000 to satisfy her claim.

The chief cause of the French failure had been the ravages of malaria among the European workmen and officials on the Isthmus. But our Sanitary Service there, organized by Colonel W. W. Gorgas, drained swamps, oiled the stagnant pools, screened the houses, and so abolished malaria on the Isthmus, as yellow fever had been driven from Cuba.

Building the canal was a marvelous feat of engineering. It took thousands of workmen, with dredges, locomotives, and vast quantities of supplies. Mountains had to be cut

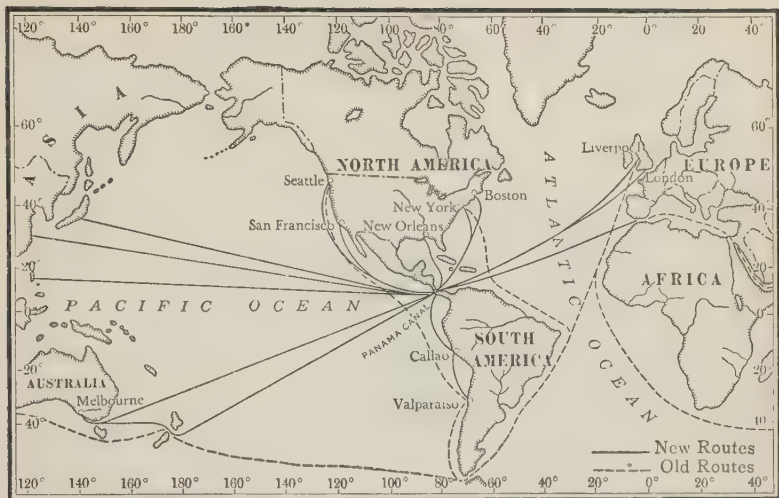
away, and giant locks built to keep the water at the right level for the huge vessels of modern commerce. Someone has called the canal "a bridge of water over the Isthmus," — the largest water bridge in the world. There were many discouragements, such as landslides from the mountains into the channel, and the crumbling of the foundations for the locks. The work was completed in 1914, at a total cost of \$400,000,000; and the chief engineer, *Colonel Goethals*, became the hero of the day.

The canal shortens the route from New York to San Francisco nearly eight thousand miles. It brings the South American countries of the Pacific coast, on an average, seven thousand miles nearer to New York. It brings our Pacific ports nearer to Europe, and our Atlantic ports nearer to Asia.

The Panama Canal Makes the Monroe Doctrine More Important

We now watch more anxiously than ever to see that no other nation gets a foothold in the Caribbean, since that might endanger our control of the canal. **So we have revived the part of the Monroe Doctrine which denies the right to any European country to gain influence in the Americas.**

The weak condition of many smaller countries of the Caribbean has helped to bring us to that policy. Several of those countries were in debt to citizens of European countries. In 1902 Germany threatened to seize the custom house of *Venezuela*, in order to collect the customs there until the debts to her citizens were paid. Roosevelt insisted that the matter must be submitted to arbitration. At first the German Kaiser made no reply to this suggestion. Roosevelt then sent Admiral Dewey to Porto Rico to be ready for war, and gave Germany twenty-four hours to accept his proposal. Germany agreed to arbitrate, and the matter was settled by the Hague Court (p. 473).



THE EFFECT OF THE PANAMA CANAL ON TRADE ROUTES.



PANAMA CANAL: MIRAFLORES LOCKS, looking north. The steamship stands in the lower west chamber, waiting for the water to be lowered to the sea level so that she may pass into the Pacific.



THE CAPITOL just after a heavy snow.

Wilde World.



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD, at the entrance of New York Harbor, — the work of the sculptor Bartholdi, and the gift of France.

A little later Roosevelt ordered our navy to take possession of the custom houses of *Santo Domingo*, so that the countries to whom that island owed money would not step in and seize them. Since that time other Presidents have followed the same policy. Both Haiti and Nicaragua have practically been made "protectorates" of the United States. That is, we have assumed the responsibility of seeing that order is kept there, and that they pay their debts and respect the property of citizens of other nations. In doing this, we are removing any excuse other nations might have for interfering in their affairs. But our officers in military control of these little countries sometimes use their authority in very arbitrary and un-American ways. This is one of the perils in "imperialism."

In 1916 the United States paid Denmark \$25,000,000 for the *Virgin Islands*, which had been known as the Danish West Indies. The islands are small and of little value for their products; but they make a splendid naval base for the defense of the Panama Canal and our other interests in the Caribbean.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. On an outline map of the world show how the chief trade routes have been changed by the Panama Canal.

2. What articles do we import from South America? What do they import from us? Do you consider this trade important?

3. On a map of the Caribbean countries name the possessions of the United States. Mark the countries over which the United States has established protectorates. What other European countries have possessions in the Caribbean?

4. List our gains of territory from 1783 to now with dates, telling how and from whom each addition was secured.

5. Let students report on problems of health and construction solved by the builders of the Panama Canal. A good account is Hall and Chester, *Panama and the Canal*.

VI. THE HAGUE CONFERENCES AND ARBITRATION

One of the subjects most discussed about 1900 was **the possibility of stopping all war**. The money cost of war is so great that for that reason alone, if for no other, most countries were anxious to find some peaceful way of settling their differences. Even the United States, which has fought very few wars compared with other large countries, spends a large part of its revenues in paying the debts and pensions incurred by past wars and in making preparation for future ones. And of course the money cost of war is the least of its evils. Individuals have learned to settle disputes in law courts, instead of by clubs and pistols; and it seemed absurd that nations could not do the like.

The United States, especially in our relations with England, **had led in this movement through nearly all the nineteenth century** (pp. 235, 407, 458). There had seemed real danger of war before the Venezuela arbitration; and, after the crisis was over, England proposed that the United States and Great Britain should avoid such danger in the future by at once adopting **a permanent arbitration treaty** that should provide *in advance* for the settlement of all future disputes. (Previous arbitrations had always been arranged by *special treaties, after trouble began*.)

Such a treaty was drawn up and was warmly recommended to our Senate by both President Cleveland and President McKinley. But some senators were afraid they might lose votes if they seemed to favor friendship with England; and so we failed to ratify the treaty. A shining opportunity to advance the cause of universal peace was lost, — and for a time America ceased to lead in the great movement.

But in 1899, at the suggestion of the Tsar of Russia, twenty-six nations sent delegates to a **Peace Congress at the Hague**, in Holland. And in 1907 a **second Hague Con-**

gress was called by President Roosevelt. This gathering contained delegates from forty-four nations, — nearly all the countries of the globe with stable governments.

These meetings could not agree on *disarmament*, which some of the leaders had hoped for. But at the first conference an important step was taken by organizing a *permanent international court of arbitration*. Whenever a dispute should arise between two nations in the future, it was hoped that it would be referred to this court instead of being made a cause for war. The machinery to preserve peace and secure justice would be ready, if the nations wished to use it. During the next few years several disagreements among the smaller nations *were* submitted to this Hague Court; and it even settled the century-old dispute between England and America about the *New-foundland fisheries*.

The Hague Conferences also urged all countries to adopt permanent treaties of arbitration with one another. Many of the smaller countries did so, and one was made by France and England. Most of the large countries, however, preferred not to bind themselves so completely. President Taft (who succeeded Roosevelt in 1909) did all in



THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES. While the First Hague Congress was in session, Chile and Argentina were on the brink of war about their boundary in the Andes. At the last moment, good bishops of the Catholic Church persuaded the two governments to have the matter arbitrated by geographical experts. The two nations then erected this "monument of good will" on the new boundary, and adopted (June, 1903) the *first* standing treaty of arbitration for future disputes.

his power to have the United States sign such treaties, but the Senate ratified them only with unsatisfactory exceptions.

Another advance in this peace movement took place in 1913-1914, during the first years of Woodrow Wilson's presidency (p. 484). Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, secured a number of treaties providing a *new* way "further to promote peace." In these "cooling-off" treaties the countries promised that, before making war with each other on *any* question, they would submit the matter to *investigation* by an international commission, and would take at least a year for negotiation, after its report, before resorting to violence.

Events were to show, however, almost at once that the peace movement had not gone far enough to protect the world against war (ch. xxxi).

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Trace the whole story of our arbitrations with Great Britain.

2. What is meant by "disarmament"? Why is it so difficult for nations to reach an agreement on disarmament? Do you know of any later attempt in which the United States has led?



PART OF THE CAMPUS OF THE MINNESOTA FARM SCHOOL AND EXPERIMENT STATION AT ST. PAUL. There are three Agricultural Experiment Stations and Farm Schools in other parts of the State, — all connected, like this one, with the State University, — besides the large number of agricultural departments in high schools. See pp. 432, 496.

CHAPTER XXX

WE BEGIN A NEW CENTURY

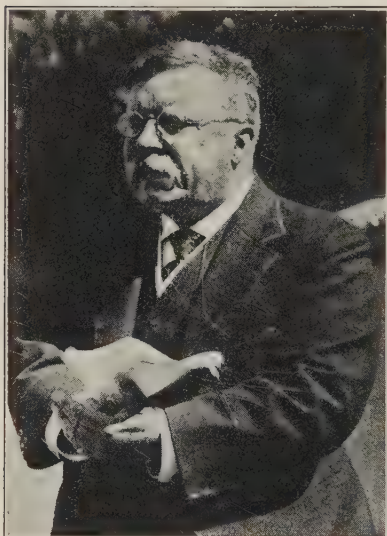
The early part of the twentieth century, up to the World War, was a period of hope and progress. Better than ever before, the people were learning to make their government a servant — instead of letting it become a master — *and so were willing to have it to do many new things for them.* Theodore Roosevelt called this last tendency the “New Nationalism”; and Woodrow Wilson spoke of the times as the age of a “New Freedom.”

I. THE STORY OF THREE PRESIDENTS

Theodore Roosevelt is probably the most striking figure in our public life since the Civil War. He was the youngest of all our Presidents, but he had already had an interesting career. As a boy he had been frail; but his determined *will* to be strong, and an outdoor life, made him a vigorous man. He belonged to a wealthy New York family; but after graduating from Harvard, he spent several years “ranching it” among the cowboys of the West. He had abounding energy, and was keenly interested in sports, science, history, politics, and all public movements. In the midst of other activities, he found time to write several admirable books. Perhaps

the best known is a history of American pioneering, called *The Winning of the West*. He made popular the phrase "the strenuous life," and was himself our best example of it.

In 1889, President Harrison made young Roosevelt a member of the Civil Service Commission (p. 439). He put



International Film Service.

ROOSEVELT IN ACTION — opening the first Liberty Loan drive in Baltimore in 1917.

new energy into the Commission, and spent the next six years in organizing the civil service and in extending the merit system. He also made it more popular by publishing articles about it in the magazines.

In 1895, Roosevelt became Police Commissioner of New York City — where he found a chance to work out much-needed reforms. At night he explored the poorest streets of the great city, to be sure his men were doing their duty; and what he saw there of tenement life gave him a deep

desire to improve conditions for the man underneath, — or, in his own words, "to get a square deal for everybody."

President McKinley made Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the Navy, — just in time for him to introduce many of the reforms (like target shooting) that made our navy so easily victorious in the Spanish War. The story of his campaign with his Rough Riders has been told (p. 460). On his return from Cuba, he was elected governor of New York on a reform ticket. In this important office he weeded out evil political practices so vigorously that he made bitter

enemies of the leading Republican politicians of the State — who were used to bossing the governors they made.

Roosevelt, however, was now so popular with the people that these politicians feared he might become President ; so they tried shrewdly to get him safely out of the way by making him *Vice President* — much against his will — in 1901. That office had come for many years to be called “ the grave of politicians ” ; but, a few months later, the death of McKinley (p. 467) made Roosevelt President.

We have already studied the foreign questions of Roosevelt’s administration. There were also pressing problems at home. **The new President at once recommended many reforms**, and (like strong Presidents before him, such as Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Cleveland) *brought great pressure to bear on Congress* to get them adopted. Indeed he went so far in this way that many Congressmen of his own party began to call him “ Theodore the Meddler.”

One vital problem was how to save what remained of our splendid natural resources. Our people were just beginning to realize that our lands, forests, minerals, and water power were being wasted, or else used for the profit of only a few instead of for the welfare of all (p. 420).

The first attempt at “ conservation ” had been made by Cleveland, when he forced the railroads to give back *the public lands* they had not earned, and tried to stop the dishonest methods used by some big concerns to get hold of homestead lands (p. 420). But the great need was *conservation of our forests*. Big companies had been buying public timber for almost nothing, or had been taking it without so much as a “ by your leave.” No precautions had been taken to prevent fires (p. 419). Our timber was fast disappearing, and with it the springs and streams which the loose soil and shade of the forests had protected. Roosevelt’s life in the West had given him a special interest in this subject ; and he now used his authority to set aside

150,000,000 acres of forest lands for public reservations, — locating them, too, so as to protect the sources of rivers.

One incident in this work shows Roosevelt in a characteristic light. The President has power to withdraw any public land from sale or homesteading, *unless Congress has expressly provided otherwise*. A greedy group of capitalists wanted to secure certain valuable timber lands that they knew the President planned to withdraw from entry. So they persuaded Congress to tack on a "rider" to an important appropriation bill forbidding the withdrawal of 16,000,000 acres. Congress adjourned, in glee, supposing it had checkmated the strenuous President. The government had to have the appropriation, and so Roosevelt could not afford to veto the bill. But during the ten days allowed him before signing it, he first prepared and signed the necessary papers to withdraw the lands. Then, when the bill became law, the robber clause was of no effect.

Public opinion supported this conservation policy so heartily that Roosevelt was able to persuade Congress to complete it by creating a government *forestry service*. *Gifford Pinchot*, a personal friend of the President's and the man who had first interested him in Conservation, was then appointed Chief Forester; and under his efficient management the new "bureau" soon became one of the most important branches of our public service. When the government sells timber, the foresters decide which trees are to be cut, and then they have young trees set at once in the vacant places. They are constantly on the watch for fires and timber thieves; and now their work has been made easier by the use of airplanes.

In a similar way, the President *set aside nearly a hundred million acres of mineral lands* for the public good, much of it in Alaska; and a new law provided that, for the future, when the government sells public lands, it shall keep the right to any minerals that may afterward be found under the soil.



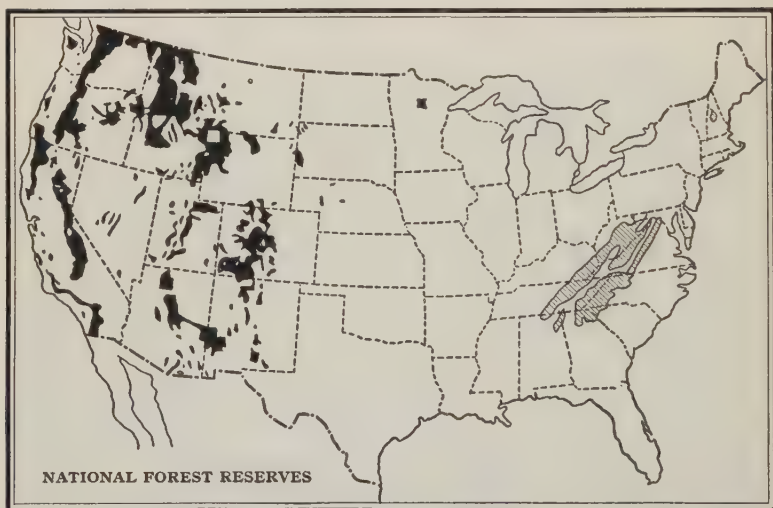
A FOREST RANGER.

Courtesy of the Forestry Service.



Courtesy of the Reclamation Service.

THE ROOSEVELT DAM, near Phoenix, Arizona, which has turned thousands of acres of desert into a fertile land smiling with food crops.



Nearly all these Reserves have been established since 1900. The two maps indicate the change of policy regarding the National Domain.

Roosevelt also began government *reclamation of dry lands*. Private irrigation companies had already accomplished a good deal in many small localities; but it was plain that much more could be done in our dry regions by building bigger dams and using the water, so stored up, under one central management. So in 1902 *the Newlands Act* provided that in sixteen Western States all the proceeds from public land sales should thereafter be used for government irrigation in those States. Before the close of Roosevelt's seven years in the presidency, seventy million dollars had been invested in twenty-eight different irrigation projects, — redeeming in all about two million acres for cultivation; and to-day ten million acres of irrigated lands are under cultivation.

Roosevelt's conservation activity directed public attention also to the *need* of saving for the public *all water power* that had not already been allowed to become private property. The use of water power to produce electrical power makes this part of the policy of conservation more and more important; but not much has been done in regard to it, and the opportunity is swiftly passing away.

Roosevelt made vigorous attempts to enforce the laws against some of the trusts, and began forty prosecutions against them in the Federal courts. These suits did not really do away with the trusts (p. 454), but he did stir up the people to thinking about the evils of the system more than ever before.



A *PUNCH* CARTOON of Roosevelt cleaning up the American Eagle.

Big business tried to defeat Roosevelt in the Republican convention of 1904; but he was nominated and elected triumphantly. He took this as a sign that the people wished him to go on as he had begun.



A FEDERAL FOOD INSPECTOR AT WORK.

During the next four years, the *Hepburn Rate Law* gave the Interstate Commerce Commission more power to control railroads; a Pure Food Law and a Meat Inspection Law (by providing for government inspection of all foods intended for interstate commerce) put an end to much poisoning of the people for private gain; and, in 1908, a Workman's Compensation Act made railways liable for accidents to employees.

In passing these laws, Congress used powers it had never used before. Roosevelt claimed that such powers belonged to Congress under the provision of the Constitution granting authority "to regulate commerce between the several States." Do you think the makers of the Constitution had such powers in mind? If not, do you still think Roosevelt's policy right? Why? What other like powers have been taken over by Congress under that same provision of the Constitution?

In the summer of 1902, the coal miners of Pennsylvania struck for higher wages and for the right to organize in a union. The mine owners had refused even to listen to these demands. The condition of the workers had been very bad; and now they were determined not to give in. Roose-

velt feared that great distress would befall the country when cold weather came, and he urged the strikers and employers to submit their disputes to arbitration.

The strikers at once consented ; and *John Mitchell*, head of their union, promised that they would go back to work as soon as any arbitration commission (to be appointed by the President) should begin to consider the matter. But the mine owners refused bluntly. The mines, they said, were their private property, and they did not mean to let anyone interfere with their private business.

At the same time, they called loudly on Roosevelt for troops to protect their mines. Roosevelt, however, was getting ready to send troops in for a still bigger purpose. He decided to seize the mines and have them worked for the public good, until owners and workmen could come to an agreement. But the owners began to fear some such action by him, and finally consented to arbitration. The miners at once went back to work. The arbitrators finally decided almost every point in their favor.



THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS. This huge source of food was completely reformed and cleaned up in Roosevelt's administration.

Roosevelt's action in this matter is often compared with Cleveland's in the railway strike (p. 445). Roosevelt had no *legal* authority for the action he planned : but he thought he had higher authority in the need to guard the welfare of

the nation. Cleveland, too, was a progressive reformer; but he was a lawyer, and would not think of going beyond his legal powers. Roosevelt was the more daring — and the crisis seemed to call for daring.

On the whole, through all his presidency, Roosevelt tried to hold fast to his policy of a "square deal." He favored laws to secure every worker enough wages for a decent living and to make employers liable for accidents to their workmen. He thought workers should form unions, so as to be able to bargain on more equal terms with powerful employers; but he denounced labor unions that used violence.

In 1908, Roosevelt was urged to run again; but instead he **induced the Republican convention to nominate William Howard Taft**, his Secretary of War. Taft was elected; and, to give him a fair field, Roosevelt went off on a long trip in the wilds of Africa, where he carried on his favorite sport of hunting big game and his favorite study of natural history.

President Taft was not a man of action, like Roosevelt. He had served earlier as a Federal judge, and he had a high regard for legal forms. In foreign matters he tried earnestly to extend the peace movement by arranging arbitration treaties with other countries (p. 473); but on home affairs conservative politicians secured his ear. The people had been confident that he would carry out Roosevelt policies, and they were bitterly disappointed.

For a time it seemed as though the work for conservation was to be undone. Some years before, a group of rich men had tried to grab for themselves the immense mineral wealth of Alaska, but Roosevelt had checked this by withdrawing the lands from entry. President Taft was induced to appoint Richard Ballinger his Secretary of the Interior. This man had been the attorney of the grasping ring of capitalists, and now he prepared to let them have their way in the Alaskan lands.

The President dismissed Pinchot (p. 478) who opposed the design, and also Louis Glavis, a subordinate of Ballinger, who had gallantly tried to expose the treacherous plans of his chief. These events, however, aroused so much public indignation that Ballinger resigned — and the wealth of Alaska was saved for the nation. No one thought that the high-minded President had any part in the corrupt plot, but it had become plain that some corrupt forces had won great influence with him.

The Republican platform of 1908 had declared for tariff reform, and Mr. Taft had made promises of lower rates during the campaign. But *the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, of 1909*, while improving some small matters, gave more protection than before to the great trusts — such as those that controlled woolen goods and steel.

The struggle over that tariff bill, and over other matters that came up in the following months, **divided the Republicans into hostile groups:** the *Standpatters*, who felt that reform had gone far enough; and the *Progressives*, who felt that it had just begun. The President threw his influence on the side of the Standpatters; but in the Congressional elections in 1910, the Democrats and Progressives won many seats.

Then some progressive laws were enacted. *Postal savings banks* were started, in which people with small earnings could put their money at interest and know that it was safe. *A Parcels post system* was established, to carry packages more cheaply than had been done by the great express companies. Strict laws were adopted against swindlers who sent dishonest advertising through the mails. And two Constitutional Amendments that had been talked about for twenty years were submitted to the States — and soon ratified. The *Sixteenth Amendment* gave Congress power to lay a *graded tax* on incomes (higher rates on large incomes than on small

ones) ; and the *Seventeenth* provided that Senators should be elected by vote of the people in each State, instead of by the State legislature.

The campaign of 1912 was marked by a bitter quarrel between the President and Roosevelt, who had now returned from Africa. The majority of Republican voters plainly wanted Roosevelt ; but the Standpatters controlled the machinery of the convention and succeeded in nominating Taft. The other crowd then bolted, started a Progressive Party, and nominated Roosevelt. This split enabled the Democrats to elect their candidate, *Woodrow Wilson*.

President Wilson was already widely known as a brilliant scholar and a writer on American history and government. He had been president of Princeton University. In 1910 (only two years before) he had gone into politics as governor of New Jersey, and had quickly become famous by his war on the trusts that had held control of that State. He had now become the second Democratic President since the Civil War. Critics questioned whether "the schoolmaster in politics" could be a success ; but the first years of his administration showed him a great statesman.

The Democratic platform (written largely by Mr. Bryan) **had promised to reform taxes, the currency, and the trusts.** For the next two years, Wilson kept Congress in session almost all the time, to act upon these matters.

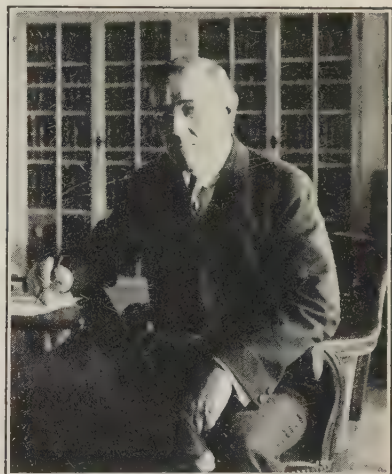
1. *The Underwood Tariff* of 1913 made the rates lower than at any time since the Civil War ; and an *Income Tax* placed a larger share of the tax burden on the rich.

2. *The Federal Reserve Act* tried a new way to solve an old problem — how to keep the right amount of money in circulation for the needs of business, and how to keep a few wealthy men from getting control over it all. And in 1916 a *Farm Loan Act* was passed, which helps farmers to borrow money at lower rates and for longer time than they had ever before been able to do.

The Federal Reserve law divided the country into twelve districts and set up a Federal Reserve Bank in each, under the oversight of a central board at Washington. These banks do not do ordinary business with *individual* citizens. They loan money to other banks in their district, and issue paper money or withdraw it from circulation, as seems needful.

3. *The Clayton Anti-Trust Act* strengthened the old Sherman Act (p. 453) and made clearer just what corporations were forbidden to do.

It also removed a serious abuse that had been growing up in our courts in connection with that law. Some judges had begun to punish labor unions for striking, on the ground that such an act was a "combination in restraint of trade." But the great Clayton Act declared that "human labor is not an article of commerce," and so forbade further interference with the unions on any such ground.



Underwood and Underwood.

WOODROW WILSON AS PRESIDENT.

Other Acts extended the "New Freedom." A *Good Roads Law* (whereby the National government encourages the States in road building) made it easier for the farmer to haul his goods to market; and the *Agricultural Education Act* helped greatly to give his children a more intelligent interest in farm life (p. 496). Employees of the Federal government were protected by a new *Workmen's Compensation Act*; and labor gained further through the *Railway Eight-hour Law* (p. 455). A *Child Labor Law* tried, also, to secure for all children in America a better chance to

develop their minds and bodies, instead of having them stunted in factories and mines. This Act was afterward declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; and the country is considering an Amendment which would give Congress power to pass such a law.

This splendid reform program of President Wilson's first years was interrupted by troubles with foreign countries. Revolutions and disorder in Mexico endangered American property in that country and even led to loss of American life on our own border. Powerful business men urged the President to intervene and take control of Mexico; but Wilson thought the Mexicans ought to be left to settle their own affairs. Before the end of his first term, however, it did become necessary for him to give his main attention to matters growing out of the Great War then going on in Europe.

Before taking up America's part in that World War, we shall survey some features of our progress that have not so far come into the story.

II. PROGRESS IN DEMOCRACY BY THE STATES

The Australian Ballot. — Old ways of *appointing* the officials in our civil service had been reformed (p. 439); but better ways of *electing* legislatures and governors, Presidents and Congressmen, were still sadly needed. Under the old system, each political party printed the names of its candidates on a ballot of its own. Each party used a different color; and when the voter presented his ballot at the polls, everyone could tell just how he voted. The party "bosses" and "ward heelers," who were buying votes, could make sure that such votes were "delivered." It was easy, too, for an employer to frighten a poor man into voting in a certain way by threatening him with the loss of his job if he did not. The ballot was not truly "secret."

But during the nineties, nearly all States adopted a new method that had been worked out in Australia. The State governments now print official ballots, and no others can be used at the polls. Each ballot has the names of *all* candidates. The voter receives a ballot from the judges of elec-



THE OLD WAY AT THE POLLS. This is a Southern scene. In the Northern cities the polling places were more "indoors" and sometimes more disreputable. — perhaps the rear room of a saloon. Notice the man in a tall hat offering a ballot to the next voter in line. You will see that this picture represents a time before the Eighteenth Amendment.

tion, takes it into a screened booth to mark his choices upon it, and returns it, *folded*, to the judge, who at once drops it into the ballot box. *No electioneering is permitted near the polls.*

The Direct Primary. — Some better way was needed, also, for people to take real part in *nominating* candidates for office. Under the old system of caucuses and conventions, it was rare for a tenth of the voters to have anything what-

ever to say about nominations; so that when people, later, went to the polls, they sometimes found no name on the ticket that they wished to vote for. The party "bosses" ran the conventions, and bargained away offices as they liked.

But just before 1900, *Robert LaFollette* worked out a system of *primary* elections in Wisconsin, to come before the final election. Anyone, by paying certain fees may announce himself a candidate for an office on the ticket of any party. Then the members of the party go to the primary, and choose which of the various candidates they will nominate. The system is by no means perfect; but, as a rule, it enables nearly all voters to take part in the nomination, and it has been adopted by most of our States.

About the same time **the people had begun to desire a more direct voice in *making the laws*** — because they found that the men they had chosen for a legislature did not always carry out their wishes. So some Western States adopted a system of "direct legislation."

The first part of this system is the "initiative." If a legislature fails to pass some law that people want, a small per cent of the voters of the State (eight or ten per cent, usually) may sign a petition for it; and then the legislature *must* adopt it at its next session. The measure does not become law, however, until it has been *referred* to all the voters at a following election, and approved by a majority.

This "referendum" is the second part of direct legislation. It gives the people a chance also to veto an act of the legislature that they do not like. That is, any legislative act must be submitted to a popular vote if a percentage of voters petition for that method.

These matters, under our Federal form of government, belong to the States. Two other reforms *began* with the States, but were completed by amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Woman Suffrage. — Women had dropped the subject of "Votes for Women" (p. 314) during the Civil War, but when the freedmen were given the vote, women had hoped to get it too. They were disappointed in this; but soon they did get some other important privileges. More schools and colleges were opened to them, and they began to go into business and the professions.

The home no longer needed all a woman's time. Factories were now doing many of the things that had formerly kept her working in the home from sunrise to sunset and longer; and electric lights, gas and electric stoves, washing machines, sewing machines, sweepers, and mangles, run by electric power, lightened and shortened home labor. Women began to have time to organize clubs in town and country, in which they studied all sorts of subjects, from literature or nature to the welfare of the community in which they lived. And soon a *National Federation of Women's Clubs* helped to bring the women of the country together.

About 1890, woman suffrage organizations began again to grow rapidly. The early leader, Susan B. Anthony, died in 1902; but her work was carried on by others, chief among whom was *Dr. Anna Howard Shaw*. Dr. Shaw belonged to a pioneer family, and in her autobiography she gives a vivid description of their long trip to Michigan in the 1850's and of the hardships of their life there. She was a poor girl, but longed for an education in a day when girls still found it almost impossible to get one. She taught country schools for a few dollars a month; and, by going without any of the luxuries and often without the real necessities of life, she managed to save enough money to put herself through college. She was one of the first American women to enter the ministry. Finally she *preached* her way through medical college, too, so that she could be of more service to the people in the little country districts where she preached.

Dr. Shaw believed that women should vote, not only be-

cause it was mere justice to half of the citizens of the United States, but also because she hoped they would succeed in making better laws for the welfare of women and children. With other noble women who felt in the same way, she traveled over the country, lecturing on woman's right to the vote, and organizing "equal suffrage" societies.



SUSAN B. ANTHONY in old age.

Gradually such work began to count. For some time several Western States had permitted women to vote in school elections and on some other *local* questions; but *Wyoming*, when she was admitted in 1890, was the first State to give women *full* suffrage rights. (Wyoming had already had this arrangement as a *Territory* for twenty years before.) *Colorado* established the reform by an amend-

ment to her State constitution in 1893. Three years later *Utah* came in (p. 416), with a constitution providing for equal suffrage; and the next year *Idaho* adopted the reform. This made four suffrage States, — *all along the summit of the Rockies*.

For the next fifteen years the struggle went on with growing force but without decisive victories — until the time of the great Progressive rising in 1910 (p. 483). In that year Washington was won; California followed, the next year; and during the two years following, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, and Illinois raised the number of States with equal suffrage to twelve.

So far, Illinois was the only State east of the Mississippi

to adopt this reform ; but in 1916 about four million women voted for President and Congressmen, and the next year the great State of New York fell into line. The services of women to the nation during the World War silenced most of the remaining opposition to their having a voice in the government ; and in 1919 President Wilson was persuaded to use his influence in favor of a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. The Amendment passed Congress, and in 1920 was ratified by three fourths of the States. (Turn back to the pictures facing pages 314 and 315.)



Harris and Ewing.

ANNA SHAW.

The other reform movement, for *prohibition*, had also begun before the Civil War (p. 324). In 1869 a *National Prohibition party* was formed. This party polled a few votes at every election ; but, for long, the real gains were made in separate States. One by one, the States adopted prohibition laws, until nearly half of them had done so. Then in 1917 Congress passed an Amendment prohibiting the sale or use of intoxicating liquors anywhere in the United States. This *Eighteenth Amendment* was ratified in 1919.

The States Pass Laws to Advance Social Welfare

Abraham Lincoln once said that we must " put man above the dollar." And Theodore Roosevelt said, — " I bound myself to treat the Constitution, after the manner of Abraham Lincoln, as a document which puts human rights

above property rights when the two conflict." Still, until the twentieth century, most of our laws aimed mainly to protect property. Since 1900, however, we have seen many new laws that aim mainly to protect human beings. To the "conservation of *natural* resources" we are beginning to add a still wiser "conservation of *human* resources."

Several national laws of this sort have been mentioned; but, under our form of Federal government, most of this "social legislation" belongs to the States. Many States have enacted child labor laws, compulsory education laws, laws providing for juvenile courts (to reform youthful offenders, instead of treating them like hardened criminals), workmen's compensation laws (p. 455), and mothers' pension laws — so that a needy mother will not have to seek work in a factory but may stay at home to care properly for her children.

The twentieth century, too, has seen the growth of a new profession, — that of *the social worker*. These useful people are specially busied in *saving and avoiding human waste*. Private charitable and welfare societies began this form of human conservation; and it still goes on largely apart from any act of government, although Boards of Education and counties and cities have now begun to employ visiting nurses and other social visitors.

This new social work is different from the older charity. It aims not so much at curing a present ill as at preventing such ills for the future. The truant officer is not merely a policeman, to drag a truant back to school: he is now a trained social worker whose chief business is to remove the causes that kept the child from wanting to go to school. The visiting nurse helps to care for the sick in her district, but her more important work is to teach the family of a patient how to keep well thereafter. The welfare worker whose job is among the poor and unemployed must see, of course, that the hungry are fed and the naked clothed; but her real work is to start the head of the needy family in a

kind of work where he will need no more charity. The twentieth century charity is *preventive*. It is a highly scientific profession. It is part of a new "war upon poverty."

III. NEW REGARD FOR BEAUTY IN LIFE

The Exposition of 1876 (p. 428) brought to America splendid collections of European art. For the first time in their lives, hundreds of thousands of our people saw great pictures and noble statues. We began to understand that the surroundings of our lives were needlessly bleak and ugly.

So now a large part of our people set out definitely to try to make life a finer and more beautiful thing. The Old World helped to give us new standards of art. Cheap, glaring "chromos" that had cluttered our walls withdrew to the garret, to give place to a few good engravings or etchings or paintings. Our houses themselves began to change. Most of us had been carelessly content with walls and roof to shut out weather; and the larger homes of our wealthy class were usually marked merely by a showy ugliness. Now we began to demand beauty of plan and fitness to location. Before long, this change showed even in farm homes. Throughout the West, such buildings had been almost always plain barn-like structures, staring white, that seemed to have been dropped hit or miss on the prairie; but soon one might see here and there a charming farmhouse with soft lines and colors, nestling against its grove or under its hill as though it had grown out of the soil.

Rapidly we have learned to add many refinements to life. American artists and sculptors no longer have to seek their living abroad. Nearly every city of any size has its art institute, public picture galleries, stately statues scattered through its parks, and a symphony orchestra providing a grade of music heard nowhere in America fifty years ago—unless during the brief visit of some European singer. Archi-

fects, landscape gardeners, interior decorators, domestic science teachers, and other new trades and professions, give new grace and beauty to our everyday surroundings.

In more strictly intellectual matters — in the enjoyment of books and in producing them — America had already won a high place (pp. 320–323). And **authorship and scholarship continued at a high level.** Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and Emerson, all lived to old age and produced much of their best work after the Civil War; and multitudes of other writers with new kinds of genius were added to this noble company.

The names now become too numerous even to mention — except for a few outstanding ones. One characteristic, however, ought to be grasped. The older group of writers had been all New Englanders — except the Southerner Poe. But now the other sections contributed a full share. The South gave Lanier, Cable, Thomas Nelson Page; the West, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, Hamlin Garland, Joaquin Miller, James Whitcomb Riley.

Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain") is America's humorist, and no other country could possibly have produced him. But he is much more than a humorist. He delights to tear trappings from sham and hypocrisy, and he honors simple and rugged manhood and plain democracy.

Sidney Lanier died at the early age of thirty-nine, after a long struggle against disease and pain. He is one of our most perfect masters of the music of words, and his verse combines a fine recognition of the moral obligations with joyous delight in the color and beauty of life. He fought in the Confederate army through the Civil War and suffered as a prisoner in a Northern prison camp; but his poetry shows no bitterness: instead, it is pervaded with a noble patriotism. His *Centennial Cantata* is one of the truest statements in all literature of the ideals of American democracy.



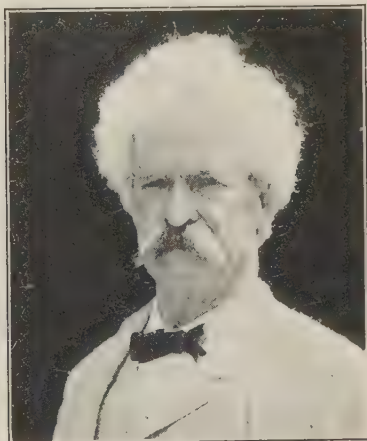
JOAQUIN MILLER.



SIDNEY LANIER.



WALT WHITMAN. — From the portrait by Alexander, now in the Metropolitan Museum.



SAMUEL L. CLEMENS
(*Mark Twain*).

O you youths, western youths,
So impatient, full of action, full of manly pride and friendship,
Plain I see you, western youths, see you tramping with the fore-
most,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

. All the past we leave behind;
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

We detachments steady throwing,
Down the edges, through the passes, up the mountains steep,
Conquering, holding, daring, venturing, as we go, the unknown
ways,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

We primeval forests felling,
We the rivers stemming, vexing we, and piercing deep the mines
within;
We the surface broad surveying, we the virgin soil upheaving,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

— WALT WHITMAN.

Schools. — Before the Civil War, people had come to agree that all the boys and girls of a democracy must be “educated”; but the theory was not put into general practice. The great majority of children had no chance at anything above a “common school education” (closing, on the average, far below the high school), and a very large part had not even that. As late as 1880, only one fourth of the children of school age were in school. To-day, three fourths are in school. And schools are better housed, better equipped, and far better taught. The average length of the school year, too, has been nearly doubled.

The gain is especially marked in rural schools. Farmers have begun to demand that their children have as good advantages as city children. And the battered “little red school house” — with its one plain room, its knife-scarred desks and benches, its absence of ventilation, and its one red-hot stove that broiled the pupils near it and left others to freeze — is giving way to “consolidated” school buildings of two or four or more rooms, with apartments for cooking and manual training classes, and with libraries, good heating and lighting, and good janitor service. All this means better teachers in the country schools, and transportation of children to and from school in autobusses.

This change in our schools in the last forty or fifty years is one of the most wonderful in American life. It **began to show about 1880 in a new interest in *high schools*** — which until then had been the most neglected part of the school system. The State universities in Western States felt a great need for *fitting schools* to supply students. At first a “university” almost always had to have a preparatory department. But this arrangement made it hard for boys and girls in distant parts of the State to prepare for college, since they could not do so without leaving home at a very early age. The University of Michigan led the way to better

things. It arranged that any high school in the State might apply to be accepted as an " accredited " school. Members of the University faculty then inspected it at intervals, and if it offered the studies and maintained a standard approved by the University, its graduates were received as Freshmen without examination.

In 1881 Minnesota took a further step. The legislature created a State High School Board, and offered regular appropriations to all high schools in the State that satisfied the requirements of that Board. In this way, the richer parts of the State were soon helping to pay for high schools in many a small town which otherwise could not have afforded one. The central Board, too, was able to induce small high schools to adopt higher standards than they would have had if left altogether to local influence.

This system, or something like it, spread rapidly. It had been *begun* in order to create feeding schools for the universities; but very soon a higher purpose arose, and the high schools began to be looked upon as themselves " the people's colleges." In 1880 in all the public high schools in the country there were only 25,000 students. Forty years later there were more than a million, — most of them enjoying better opportunities than college students had before the Civil War.

All grades of schools, too, have learned to give more attention to preparing for actual life. The rural schools (as well as many city high schools) give courses in agriculture. Boys' and girls' clubs in these schools " demonstrate " the results of their book work by raising amazing crops on small plots of ground — in a way that often instructs their fathers. They learn, too, to test cows and to feed them properly for milk production, and the best ways of raising other stock — and demonstrate their knowledge by exhibiting at State and County fairs prize calves and hogs and sheep of which they have had sole care. In such ways, both young



LEWIS AND CLARK HIGH SCHOOL, SPOKANE.



THE COOKING CLASS OF A COUNTRY SCHOOL in Minnesota. The picture on the wall at the left explains the different "cuts" of beef.



A MINNESOTA COUNTRY SCHOOL CLASS RECEIVING DIRECTIONS BEFORE SELECTING SEED CORN from the field behind them. The instructor is calling attention to the differences between the ears in his hand as to size and shape, hardness, regularity of rows of kernels, and so on.



TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA.— This school for negroes was founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington (p. 405), beginning with a few acres of pine-covered land and one small cabin. The first students had to clear the land and build cabins to live in. After some years, aid was secured from the State and from the Federal government. In 1920 the property comprised nearly 3000 acres and more than seventy buildings, — valued at about a million dollars. The school trains colored teachers, farmers, mechanics, and housekeepers, and it teaches especially the dignity of work. It has been one of the chief influences in the progress of the American negro. Booker Washington gives an account of it in his *Up from Slavery*.

and old in the farm home gain a more intelligent and lively interest in farm life and its problems.

So, too, city schools offer new courses in mechanic arts and in home economics ; and the universities have come to contain colleges of law and engineering and many other professional schools. Fifty years ago, the young man who wanted to become a physician merely went into some older doctor's office, and read and studied there for a while, until he succeeded in passing an examination by some local Board. To-day, in the more advanced States, a man or woman cannot begin to practice medicine, until, having first completed high school, he studies for at least seven years more, with all the advantages of great laboratories, learned specialists as lecturers, and considerable real hospital experience. As a people, *we are learning that it pays to prepare for our work.*

Still we have not done all that ought to be done for all our people in these lines. In 1880, one out of five voters could not read or write, while only one out of two, perhaps, could read *well enough* to understand the newspaper that gave him most of his information about public questions. And, in spite of all that has been accomplished, there is still one out of twelve of our people above ten years of age who can neither read nor write.

This large number of "illiterates" is due partly to the fact that so many of our foreign born citizens have come from countries where they had little chance to get an education, and partly to this other fact that we give the negroes in the South very poor opportunities. But some States with few negroes or foreigners have many citizens who cannot read. This condition is one of the first problems for us to solve.

And a voter must be able to do more than read and write if he is to use his vote intelligently. Various ways have been found to give grown people a chance to gain the education

they could not get as children, and to help all people go on with their studies even after they have left school. *Evening schools* for grown ups have been opened in our big cities. Here foreigners are taught English and American history and government; and instruction is given in trades, in office work, and in housekeeping. Colleges and Universities give *evening lecture courses* on science, history, and literature. In many cities, these schools are supported by public taxes, just like the day schools. Colleges also send lecturers to other towns to give *extension courses*; and many other courses are offered by *correspondence*. In these ways people who are eager for more education but cannot leave their work to get it are able to go on with their schooling.

Public libraries also help in the education of the American people. Such libraries are to be found in almost every village of the union. Traveling libraries are sent out from the larger ones, so that people living in out-of-the-way places may still be able to read the latest books and magazines. Many men and women in distant mining and farming communities look forward eagerly to the next visit of the "book wagon," fitted up as a tiny reading room, its walls shelved and lined with the best books, from which they may choose a selection to keep until the next round is made.

FURTHER READINGS

Interesting facts about Roosevelt's life are to be found in his *Autobiography*, and in Hagedorn's *Boys' Life of Theodore Roosevelt*. Other good books on subjects connected with this period are: Barstow, *Progress of a United People*; Finch, *Everyday Civics*; Hughes, *Community Civics*; Price, *The Land We Live In*; Wheeler, *A Boy with the United States Foresters*.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. How does your community help to educate the people? Make a list of all the ways, and discuss in class how they help to

make better citizens. Which ones are supported by public taxes? How are the others supported?

2. What has been done in your State for Conservation?

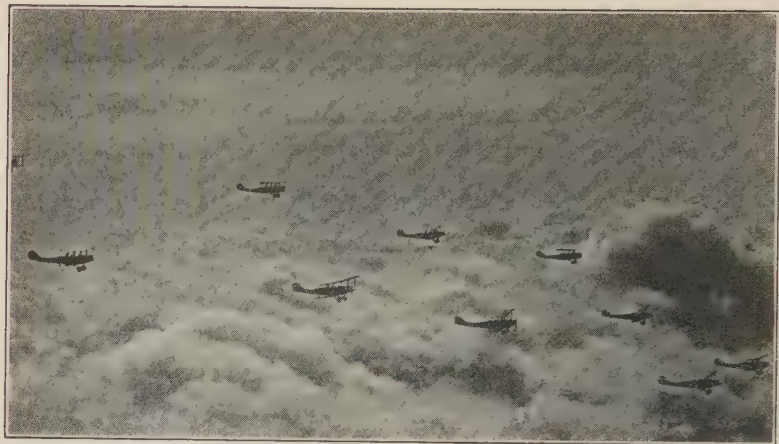
3. Is there anything in this chapter to show that "The frontier is the most democratic part of America"?

4. Practically all people over twenty-one can now vote. Who could vote in colonial times? Trace the steps by which people have gained the vote from that time to this. What people are denied the right to vote in your State?

5. Public officials complain that our democracy is not a success because at most elections only a small proportion of the voters go to the polls. How can you explain this? What effect is it likely to have on our government? What remedies can you suggest? Is it wise to "get out the vote" by *teasing* people to go to the polls?

6. Review the "Steps toward Democracy" in your note books and add the steps given in this chapter.

7. Complete your table of Presidents to 1913.



PART OF A FRENCH FLEET, "LYING IN WAIT" ABOVE THE CLOUDS FOR GERMAN PLANES.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER

I. AMERICA AND EUROPE

In 1914 Europe was aflame with war. For twenty years the statesmen of the world had been trying to find some peaceful way for nations to settle their quarrels (p. 472), and hopeful people had begun to think there might never be another great war. But suddenly a small spark started a conflagration. A Serbian officer assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne; and Austria declared war on Serbia.

For many years the European countries had been slowly lining up into two rival groups. The members of each group were expected to help each other in case of war. Austria was connected with one group, and Serbia with the other. So in a few weeks the war spread to almost all Europe and to European colonies and dependencies in other parts of the world. Even distant Japan (an ally of England) declared war on Germany.

Each nation has tried to fix the whole blame for the war on some one of the others ; but it seems that all were partly to blame. Most of them were rivals for commerce or for colonies, and they were watching each other jealously to see that no one country got too strong. They all cherished old hatreds, left over from past wars, and kept enormous armies and navies to use against one another if need arose.

But Austria and her ally, Germany, must take most of the blame. Germany, especially, believed that war was the right way to settle disputes between nations. Her writers, statesmen, schools, and even her churches, taught this idea. At the Hague Congresses, too, these two countries had refused to enter any agreement to disarm (p. 473), and they had had little to do with permanent arbitration treaties. Moreover the German people had less to say in public affairs than the people had in most countries. Germany was then a despotic Empire, and her militaristic government managed things as it liked. It had prepared Germany for war more completely than any other country in the world was prepared — and this was one reason, no doubt, why Germany and Austria were less willing to listen to proposals for arbitration than they might otherwise have been.

The United States belonged to no European alliance ; and at first our people were glad to think that we were too far away from the war to be much affected by it. President Wilson issued a Proclamation of Neutrality, and urged all our citizens to be impartial “in thought as well as in action.”

But, as the struggle spread, **it was not easy for us to keep neutral.** Germany's ruthless methods of making war seemed needlessly cruel ; and many Americans felt that we ought to go to the aid of little Belgium (as England did), when Germany invaded that neutral country merely to find an easy way to get her armies into France. But some Ameri-

cans felt that Germany had had good reason for all she had done, and that the stories against her were exaggerated ; and others sympathized with her because she was fighting England, whom they hated. Much bitter feeling was thus aroused in America about the war.



A GERMAN SUBMARINE ON THE SURFACE, in the searchlight of a British airplane. The picture was taken when the U-boat was on its way to surrender, after the war.

Then we soon found that the struggle did affect us very closely. We had learned in 1812 that fighting countries were not likely to pay much attention to the rights claimed by neutrals. To be sure, we were now a powerful nation that no one would offend if it could well be avoided ; but after all the first wish of countries at war is to injure each other, no matter who else is hurt by their acts.

There was a large demand in the fighting countries for our manufactures and for the food-stuffs and raw materials from our fields and mines. So it looked at first as though

we were profiting by the war. Then *England proclaimed a blockade of all German ports*, and also claimed the right to search neutral vessels in the North Sea for contraband goods that might reach Germany through neutral Sweden or Holland. We felt that this was a serious interference with our rights. But England and her allies themselves stood ready to buy all our spare products at high prices; and we soon forgot our grievance about the blockade because of greater grievances against Germany.

For Germany began to use submarines against merchant and passenger ships, even of neutral nations, in a way that not only interfered with our trade but even endangered the lives of all Americans at sea. A submarine did not search a ship, or capture it, but sank it without warning, not even giving time for crew and passengers to take to the life boats. A submarine *could* not safely give warning, because it might so easily be sunk by one shot from a hidden gun on the merchant vessel; and of course it had little space for prisoners. You see this was quite a different sort of warfare from that waged by commerce-destroyers in earlier wars — as by the Confederate *Alabama* (p. 386).

In May, 1915, a German submarine sank the British liner *Lusitania*. Nearly twelve hundred of the passengers were drowned, and among them were one hundred fourteen American citizens. A cry for war against Germany went up at once from many parts of our country; but President Wilson believed it would be wrong to fight until every other method had been tried to persuade Germany to give up her submarine policy. He wrote the German government a series of notes, strongly urging "the rights of humanity"; and Germany finally promised to sink no more passenger ships without giving them warning.

Mr. Wilson's real desire to settle this matter peaceably was one reason why he was reëlected in 1916. Large parts of the country chanted in his praise the slogan, "He kept

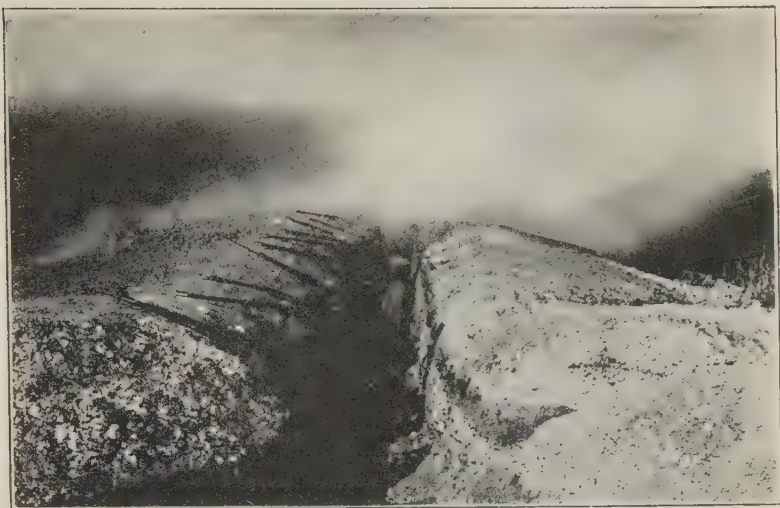
us out of war." Strong friends of Germany opposed him bitterly, however, because they thought him unfair in his demands on "the fatherland."

But the German promise was not well kept. More ships were sunk, and more promises made. At last, in January, 1917, the German government proclaimed that thereafter her submarines would again sink merchant ships without warning — although she did agree to *permit* the United States to send one ship a week to England, provided it were painted with broad red and white stripes and kept to a certain path across the ocean.

This alone would probably have brought the United States into the war, even if other things had not been happening which seemed to leave us no way to escape fighting. We learned that German and Austrian agents had been plotting to blow up American munition factories, and even to stir up trouble between us and Mexico — all of course to keep us from selling supplies to England and France. The nation as a whole was quite ready to support our government when, **on April 6, 1917, it declared that a state of war existed between us and Germany.**

The United States entered the war at a critical time. It had begun to look as if the "Allies" (England, France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Japan, and others) were going to be defeated by the better organized "Central Powers" (Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria). To be sure, it was supposed at first that our help would be mainly in furnishing supplies and money to the Allies: no one thought we could do much fighting. We had a very small army, few trained officers, and hardly any military equipment. And we had few ships to transport armies over seas.

But it was soon plain that an American army was badly needed in Europe. **In June, General Pershing was sent to France with an *American Expeditionary Force* (A. E. F.)**



A FRENCH TRENCH DURING A BATTLE NEAR LORETTE. The photo shows a German shell bursting a few rods away.



THE FAMOUS CLOTHMAKERS' HALL AT YPRES, BELGIUM, after the German bombardment of the city. Compare with the picture facing p. 24.



FRENCH OFFICERS IN THE ARGONNE, using the range-finder to discover the exact position of German batteries. The result will be telephoned to their own batteries far in the rear. Notice how skillfully the men are "camouflaged."



FRENCH SOLDIERS sleeping in a dug-out. The one on guard is writing home. This photo was taken by flashlight.

of regular troops, reinforced by volunteers ; and with amazing swiftness we raised and trained a huge citizen army to join them. Congress passed a law for a *universal selective draft* — a new and efficient way to raise armies. All men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one (later, between eighteen and forty-five) were registered, and were examined by health officers. Then, all fit for active service were classified by Registration Boards. (We did not wish to draw our fighting force from those who had families needing their help at home or who were already busy in work necessary to our victory.) Then, from the class that could best be spared, men were drawn by lot and gathered into huge training camps, as fast as such camps could be prepared.



JOHN J. PERSHING IN FRANCE.

The war had become a race between Germany and the United States, — Germany trying to crush the Allies before our men could arrive in large numbers. Neither the Germans nor many Americans at first believed we could possibly put five hundred thousand men into France in time for the campaign in 1918. But our vast new shipyards turned out vessels with unheard-of rapidity ; and, aided by still more numerous English transports and by French military supplies, we put more than a million soldiers into Europe by June of 1918, in time for them to turn the tide in the most critical campaign of the war. And from June on to the end we sent 300,000 more men each month.

Ever since the beginning of the war in 1914, the German army had occupied a wide strip of northeastern France.

For more than three years, that district had been the scene of stubborn fighting, with millions of men on each side. Both sides had "dug in" in long lines of trenches, reaching from Ostend on the North Sea to neutral Switzerland. Now, in the spring of 1918, Germany started a determined drive to reach Paris. She had just crushed Russia on her



RUINED HOMES AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY.

east, and so had more troops than ever before to place on this "west front" in France. At first she made some startling gains against the outnumbered and discouraged Allies, so that for a time it looked as though America had come into the war too late. But early in June the third great German

onset of the campaign was checked at *Château-Thierry* by French and American troops. Then the Americans were given a perilous job that they asked for, and were sent to root out the hidden German machine-gun nests from the depths of *Belleau Wood*.

In these battles, as in their first engagement at *Cantigny* a few days before, the Americans amazed both Germans and Allies by their daring and their discipline. (The Germans had been fond of boasting that the raw American troops "couldn't fight anyway," even if they got to France.) At first the Americans had been "brigaded" with the experienced French and English regiments; but now Pershing asked for and obtained a sector of the front for them to take care of by themselves.

It was five weeks before the exhausted Germans could renew their attack. Then, on July 15, they made their last desperate attempt — and lost. They forced their way across the Marne, in an effort to encircle and capture





AMERICAN SOLDIERS LEAVING PARIS FOR THE FRONT, JULY, 1917.



A BIT OF SHELL-SWEPT LAND IN FRANCE after a bombardment. Note the shell hole in the foreground.

Rheims; but they were quickly checked, and *driven back without any gain whatever*, in a bloody three-day battle where the Americans again had an active share.

Both sides felt that this had been a decisive struggle. **Marshal Foch**, commander-in-chief of the Allies, seized the moment to begin a great offensive in his turn. All along the front he hurled his armies upon the bewildered and discouraged Germans in a series of swift onsets that never let up. Before the end of August he had won back all the ground lost in the spring; and though they resisted stubbornly, the Germans were being pushed back steadily still further toward the French frontier.



FERDINAND FOCH.

The Americans held a difficult part of the front, toward the southeastern end. In a hard-fought two-day battle, they now drove the Germans from a commanding position at *St. Mihiel*, and then on September 26 they began a forty-seven day battle through the mud and thickets of the *Argonne Forest*. Aided by some French troops, our men — at the terrible cost of 117,000 killed and wounded — thrust the Germans back slowly until they had to give up *Sedan*, the great railway center through which their armies in France and Belgium had been receiving their supplies.

Meantime, the British and French were making like gains on their sectors. Italy, too, won a great victory over Austria; and then a series of sudden revolutions broke up that ancient monarchy into a group of little republics. A British army from Egypt had already crushed Turkey, and an

Allied force, moving north from Greece, had conquered Bulgaria. At last even Germany sued for peace. **On November 11**, an armistice was signed, and at eleven o'clock of that morning **all fighting ceased along the hundreds of miles of battle front.**

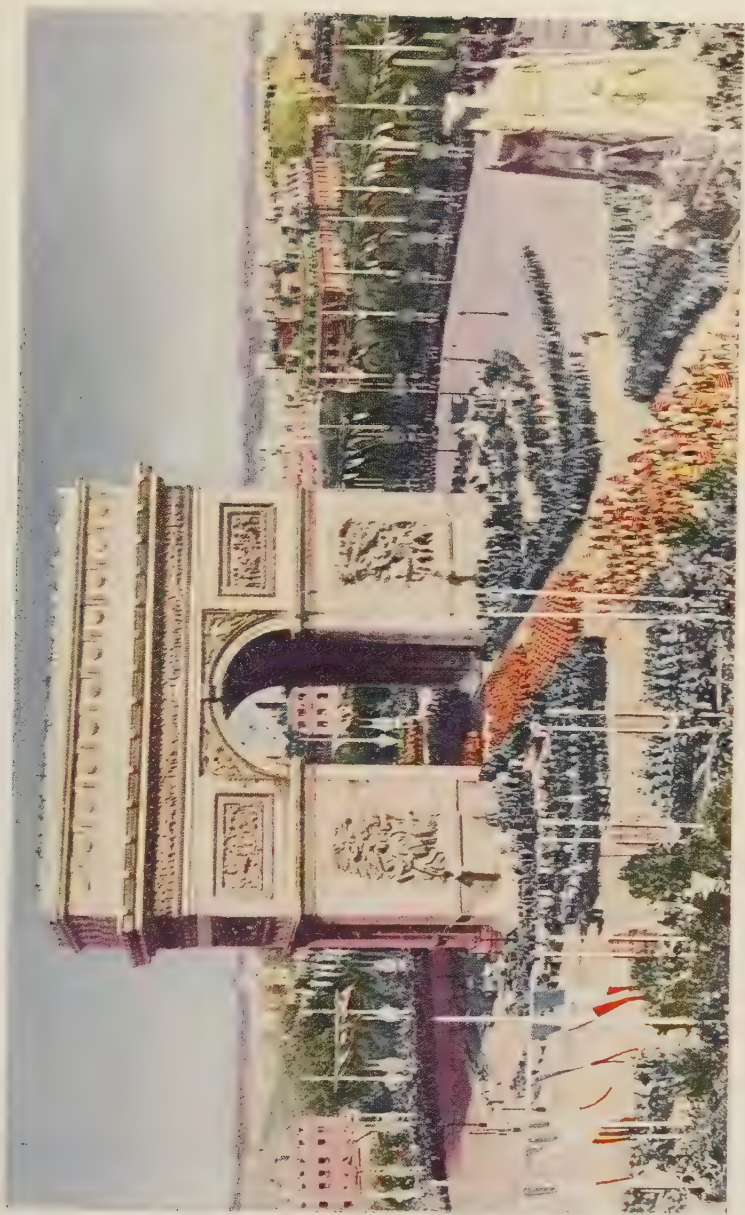
An armistice usually is merely an agreement to stop fighting while terms of peace are being considered. But in this case the victorious Allies had refused to enter into such an agreement except on conditions that made it impossible for Germany to renew the war later. She had to surrender her fleet, including all submarines, along with her fighting airplanes, most of her locomotives, and vast quantities of military supplies. She was also to withdraw her troops at once from France and Belgium, while the Allied and American armies moved forward to occupy a broad belt of German territory along the Rhine. Germany would have to accept whatever terms of peace the Allies might dictate later.

Even before the armistice, the people had risen in revolt in many parts of Germany against the despotic government that had misled them, and the Emperor had fled from the country and abdicated his throne. Germany now quickly organized herself into a federal republic, while the Allies were arranging for a Peace Congress to reconstruct Europe.

II. THE HOME FRONT

The war had been won not altogether on the battle front, but quite as much on the "home front." "It is not an army that we must shape and train for war," said President Wilson: "it is a nation. To this end, our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe." Congress gave the President special war powers, and he created Boards and Commissions that quickly organized the whole country to the one end of winning the war.

A *War Industries Board* closed up some of our unneces-



REVIEW OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN PARIS AFTER THE ARMISTICE.
Marching through Napoleon's Arch of Triumph.

We are glad to fight for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, *the German people included*. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We have no selfish ends. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make.

It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful country into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace; and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations.

— From Woodrow Wilson's *War Message*, April 2, 1917.

sary industries, so that more energy and more workers might go to necessary ones. A government *Railroad Administration* organized all the railways of the country into one system and managed it as a unit, so as to transport workmen, soldiers, and supplies without waste of time or labor. A *Shipping Board* with amazing swiftness built huge new shipyards and turned out fleets of ships from them fast enough "to beat the submarine": this new shipping made good the terrible gaps which that German weapon was tearing in the merchant marine of the Allies, so that our steady stream of men and supplies across the Atlantic continued unbroken. A *War Labor Board* succeeded in maintaining good feeling between capital and labor and in preventing harmful strikes. A *Fuel Administration* greatly increased the output of our coal mines, and persuaded us to use less coal and gasoline for ordinary purposes, so that there might be more for war work and for auto trucks and airplanes in France. We learned to heat our homes and business offices only to 65 instead of to 72 or 75, and to give up all use of autos for pleasure on Sunday. For many weeks in the winter of 1918, many kinds of factories and public places were closed through Monday, to save fuel.

Probably the best known of all these government Boards was the great *Food Commission*, headed by *Herbert Hoover*. This touched directly the life of every man, woman, and child. It spread information about the terrible needs of the Allies; and, by its posters in store windows and in all public places, it kept before the eyes of everyone moving appeals to "save the waste." Each week had its "wheatless" Tuesday and its "meatless" Thursday (along with its "gasless" Sunday and its "heatless" Monday); and the amount of sugar any family could buy was strictly limited, so that there might be a plentiful supply of wheat, meat, and sugar for the armies fighting our battles in France. In 1917 our wheat crop had been poor, and it was figured

that, if we used as much as usual ourselves, there would be only about 20 million bushels to export ; but by doing without, and by using rye and corn flours instead, we managed to send to England, France, and Italy 140 million bushels, or about as much as we used at home.

As a rule, people coöperated cheerfully in this work of saving food, and home and school taught it to children. The boy who ate a crust, instead of leaving it under the edge of his plate to go into the garbage can, knew that he helped to feed some hungry soldier or starving Belgian child. Herbert Hoover's name was everywhere a household word. One small girl, seeing her father sprinkling a little sugar on her berries, burst into tears and cried, — " Father, Mr. Hoover wouldn't like to have you do that ! "

The Food Commission managed, too, to increase food production. Farmers brought waste land into cultivation and even plowed up old pastures for wheat ; and in the towns many citizens spaded up lovely lawns for war gardens, to raise vegetables.

The heads of all these boards (and of several others almost as important) made up a *Council for National Defense*. Represented on this Council, too, was the *Woman's Committee*, which had its subcommittees in every State, county, and village, organizing the women of the nation for effective war work on the home front.

These committees found thousands of trained women nurses for the war hospitals and helped along the movement for women to take up men's work, so as to release more men for the front. Women not only went into many new kinds of office work : they carried on much of the heavy field work of the farm ; they proved quicker and more skillful than male workers in the munition plants ; they ran elevators and street cars, and served as porters at railway stations. It had been not unusual in former days to hear some one say, " A woman ought not to vote, because she can't fight for her



AMERICAN MACHINE GUN NEST IN THE ARGONNE.



AT MESS — AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN THE ARGONNE.



A CLASS IN COOKING DURING THE WAR. A photo from the University of Minnesota Farm School.



AN AMERICAN RED CROSS CANTEEN IN FRANCE. The boys in khaki seem to enjoy the prospect of coffee and doughnuts.

country." But this silly saying now seemed sillier than ever. The devotion of women to the country during the war was one reason, no doubt, for the victory of equal suffrage immediately afterward (p. 491).

The war had called for enormous sums of money, — more than all the wars of the past century put together. We came in late; but our country spent twenty-two billions, or about a million dollars an hour. And we lent nearly ten billion dollars more to the Allies. Congress passed laws for many new taxes and laid especially heavy taxes on luxuries and large incomes and high profits. But it was not possible to pay any very large part of this war cost as we went along. The government went into debt for about five sixths of the cost, borrowing the money from our people by selling them Liberty bonds and War Savings stamps. One out of every four of all the men, women, and children in the country bought at least one Liberty bond, even though many of them had to scrimp painfully to do so; and almost everyone bought War Stamps. One shabbily dressed



A RED CROSS
NURSE.



A RED CROSS AMBULANCE IN FRANCE.

Jewish newsboy took two hundred dollars worth of bonds. He had been saving the money to pay his way through college; but he said it would not hurt him to work a little harder and wait a little longer for that, if the government needed his money.

The people also gave large sums to the American Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., and to other welfare societies. Such

organizations looked after the health of the men in camps, furnished hospitals, medical supplies, and ambulance corps, supplied emergency kitchens at railway stations and along the line of march, and established "entertainment huts" that furnished books, magazines, music, hot coffee, and good advice to the convalescents in the hospitals and to any lonely boys in khaki who came their way. The Red Cross also looked after the families of the soldiers, in need, and did relief work in the ravaged cities of the invaded districts and among the unhappy refugees who had been driven from their homes. Much of this relief work continued for years after the war, and was carried on not only in the devastated Allied countries but also in Germany and Austria, which were being ravaged by disease and famine. A large share of this work, too, was done by women.

III. MAKING THE PEACE

One reason why Americans had gone into the war so wholeheartedly was that they believed, with President Wilson, that they were fighting "to end war." **The President now insisted that the peace treaties must contain some provision for preventing wars in future.** He himself headed the American Commission to the Peace Congress at Paris in order to bring this about. On his journey to that meeting, he was hailed everywhere with wild enthusiasm by the *peoples* of the Allied countries, who hoped for the lasting "peace of justice" that his speeches promised. But many of the *statesmen* of Europe, trained in old hatreds and used to old ways of mercilessly plundering conquered countries, were secretly opposed to his ideas.

The problems before the Peace Congress were terribly difficult. It was impossible, even with the best intentions, to satisfy everyone, or even to be just to everyone. A lot of small nations, and parts of nations, had been subject for

centuries to Russia and Austria and Germany. These now became independent ; but how should their exact boundaries be drawn? The whole map of Europe had been made by centuries of unjust wars and treaties. Now it had to be re-made. The work of the Congress was not perfect ; but it certainly left the European nations in a much fairer and bet-



Underwood and Underwood.

"THE BIG FOUR" AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE: Lloyd George (England) — Orlando (Italy) — Clemenceau (France) — Woodrow Wilson.

ter arrangement than it found them. The American Commissioners were not entangled in the old quarrels, and so were in a good position to be impartial ; and it was due largely to them that the final result was as fair as it was. Still, jealousies about these new boundaries have already caused several small wars, and would have caused more if it were not for the League of Nations.

For Wilson did get a League of Nations Covenant into the treaty. This, he hoped, would prevent great wars in future

and also gradually correct the evils that had to be left in the peace treaties. Within two years, nearly all the countries of the world had joined the League. As part of their punishment, Russia and Germany were not permitted to enter at first ; *but the United States is the only other strong nation that has not joined.* When the treaty was submitted to our Senate, it refused to ratify because so many Senators disliked the plan.

The refusal of his own country to accept the League was a terrible disappointment to the weary President. He started on a speech-making campaign through the country to arouse interest in the League ; but the long strain of the war, together with the new quarrels over the peace, proved too much. He broke down in the middle of one of his speeches, and remained a sick man during the rest of his administration and his few remaining years. The life of Woodrow Wilson was part of the cost of the World War.

But the great majority of the American people were tired of European affairs, about which they knew very little anyway, and gladly followed the lead of the Senate in opposing the League of Nations. In the election of 1920 the Democratic party favored our joining ; but the Republican platform opposed it, though it did approve " some agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world." The Republican candidates, *Warren G. Harding* and *Calvin Coolidge*, were elected with an enormous majority of seven million votes. President Harding died suddenly in the middle of his term, and was succeeded by Vice President Coolidge, who was reelected in 1924.

We have seen how immigration was restricted in 1924 (p. 427). The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments went into effect in 1920 (p. 491), and a Child-Labor Amendment was submitted to the States in 1924.

The Harding administration took one great step toward world peace. President Harding called a conference of



AN ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.



"BIG GUNS" AT THE WASHINGTON DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

Von Karneback (Holland)

Dr. Szes (China)

Balfour (England)

Hughes (U. S.)

Briand (France)

Schanzer (Italy)

de Merchiène (Belgium)

Iyesato (Japan)

International Film Service.

leading nations to consider disarmament. This conference met at Washington on "Armistice Day" in 1921. Our Secretary of State, *Charles Evans Hughes*, presided. It had always been the rule for international councils to do their real work in secret, and hold public meetings only to announce results and for speeches of ceremony. But in his opening speech, Secretary Hughes made public a definite plan for naval disarmament. He proposed that the leading nations should scrap many of their great battleships and agree to build no more for at least ten years. According to this plan, the United States and Great Britain would be left with navies of equal strength, Japan with one three fifths as large, and France and Italy with somewhat smaller ones about equal to each other.

The people everywhere over the world at once expressed such warm approval of the plan that the Conference adopted it quickly, with very slight changes. Suggestions were made for limiting land armies and air fleets and submarines, but these failed because France, who had so recently suffered terribly from invasion, and who now was stronger than any other nation in all these matters, was determined to protect herself by keeping her first place. But the United States, England, France, and Japan did adopt a "Four Power Pact," agreeing to try to settle peacefully any future quarrels between them in the Pacific, where they were all especially interested. The United States and Japan agreed also to dismantle certain new fortifications on their Pacific possessions. And *nine nations*, interested in trade with China, agreed to observe the Open Door policy there.

The success of the Washington Conference was one reason why European countries soon afterward held a series of international meetings to try to settle difficulties that had grown up out of the peace treaties. Our government declined to send *official* representatives to these gatherings; but several times the meetings called in American experts

to act as umpires or to help settle their disputes. In 1922, France and Germany were again at sword points because Germany would not or could not pay her installments on the huge war indemnity that the peace treaty had imposed upon her ; and in 1923 the American *Charles G. Dawes* was made president of an international commission to study the matter. The "Dawes Plan," arranged satisfactorily, for the time at least, just how the German payments should be made.

Still more important, perhaps, was the work of *Elihu Root*, our Secretary of State under Roosevelt, and a widely recognized authority on international law. Mr Root was called upon by the League of Nations to help lay down the rules for a *permanent World Court of Arbitration*. It is quite possible that in the near future the United States may join this World Court. Such action has been urged by many statesmen of both parties, by numerous colleges and churches, by the national organizations of lawyers, bankers, and business men, and by many national organizations of women. President Harding and President Coolidge have both recommended our joining, and there is a growing feeling in favor of that plan.

IV. HOME PROBLEMS

The war left many problems within our country, some of which are still unsolved. It took months to bring our armies back to America, and longer still for the men to get back to peace jobs. The free land that made this work so simple after the Civil War was gone. After long discussion, the government passed a *Bonus Bill*, which provided a small money payment to all men who had been in the service. But the *disabled* veterans, and their families, needed much more help and quicker help ; and to all such the government had promptly given pensions. It also gave generous allowances to many injured soldiers so that they might get training in colleges

and special schools for better jobs than they had ever had before.

Our industries, which had been organized for war, had to be *re-organized* and put back on a peace footing. The government restored the railroads to their old owners, and sold to private firms the emergency fleet it had built.

Merely the interest on our war debt was larger than all the expenses of our government had ever been before the war. Still, it proved possible to reduce the war taxes somewhat. Just how far this should be done, and what kind of taxes should be lowered, is still one of our chief problems.

Manufacturers feared that their business would be ruined by a flood of cheap goods from Europe; and so the war tariffs *for revenue* were replaced by the *protective* Fordney-McCumber tariff of 1922. This law also set up a Tariff Commission to study costs and prices, and to make recommendations from time to time to the President, who was given power to make slight changes in the tariff rates.

All this readjustment caused more or less suffering. Some goods rose in price, and others fell. On the whole, the cost of living rose steeply, and people with small *fixed* incomes suffered seriously. Europe was too poor to pay her debts to us, or even to buy our goods as in past years. This not only made our farm produce of little value: it also forced numbers of factories to shut down, throwing thousands of men and women out of work. There has also been a renewal of the bitter struggle between capital and labor.

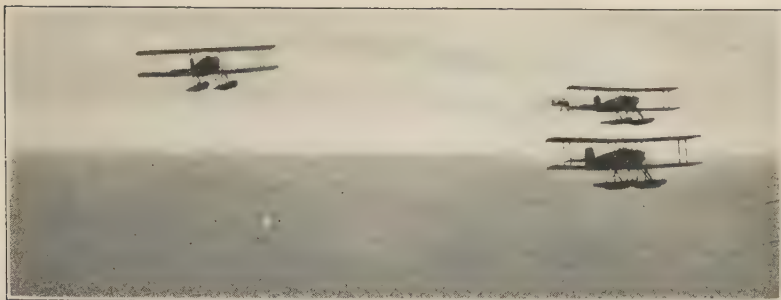
But America faces these problems with hope and courage. Though still a young nation, we are the oldest democracy in the world. We have faith that the new generation of Americans will put into the work of solving the difficulties of to-day the same energy and idealism that their forefathers showed as pioneers and founders of a new experiment in government.

FURTHER READINGS

More details of the war may be found in Benezet, *Young People's History of the World War*. Wilson's *Addresses* should be read by all young people studying America's part in the war. The last chapters of Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* give an interesting view of recent progress and possibilities for the future. Hayes, *American Democracy*, chs. xiii-xvii, has a splendid statement of the relations of America to the world and of the rights and duties of American citizenship.

SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1. Think of reasons why it is harder for a country to keep neutral to-day than it was a hundred years ago.
2. What is meant by the "indirect" costs of war? Explain why the cost of war is so much greater than it used to be.
3. What scientific discoveries made during the war are of use in time of peace? Which ones make the need of preserving peace greater than ever?
4. Find all the instances you can in which airplanes have recently been of great service to man. What possibilities can you see for the future?
5. What can you find in this chapter to put under the heading "Growth toward Democracy"?
6. Why do business conditions in Europe affect America?
7. Discuss in class the value of the World Court.



Official photos, U. S. Air Service.

THE WORLD FLYERS: *above* — approaching Boston, the first station in America on their return; *below* — at the Boston airport, with General Patrick in the line.

In 1924, three American planes made the first air trip around the globe. The following words come from the speech of Governor Channing Cox at their reception at Boston: —

"It was a mighty feat which you attempted. . . . You set your eyes to the West. You kept your course. You have done what no other men have done. . . . Your flight around the world — a flight begun and ended on American soil by American flyers in American planes — will stand as one of the great events in the progress of mankind. . . . We greet you, pathfinders of a world airway which all nations may use! We salute you, envoys of friendship and good will to the world! You have enriched the title which you so nobly bear — courageous, sturdy, devoted, patriotic, true Americans!"

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for the Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of, and superior to, the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a Trial by Jury;

For transporting us beyond Seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering, fundamentally, the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection, and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind — Enemies in War; in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the **United States of America** in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, **Free and Independent States**; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as **Free and Independent States**, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which **INDEPENDENT STATES** may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

[Here followed the signatures of the fifty-five other delegates, in the order of the thirteen States, from New Hampshire to Georgia.]

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

(Recommended by the Philadelphia Convention to the States, September 17, 1787; ratified by the ninth State, June 21, 1788; in effect, April 30, 1789. The text is that printed in the *Revised Statutes* (1878), except for the footnote references and for the brackets used in a few instances to inclose portions of the document which are no longer in force.)

• We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers [which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons].¹ The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand,² but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New

¹ What events made the passage within brackets of no effect?

² In 1926 there is one Representative to 212,407 people.

Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three].

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen [by the Legislature thereof,]¹ for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

[Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year], so that one third may be chosen every second Year; [and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.]

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust, or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment, and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places, and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations,² [except as to the Places of chusing Senators.]

¹ When and how was the passage within brackets made of no effect?

² A law of 1872 requires all Representatives to be chosen on "the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November" in each even-numbered year; and a law of 1871 had already ordered that all such elections should be by ballot. Of course these rules now apply also to Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns, and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House

respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts, and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the Credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization. and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District

(not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.]

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct,¹ Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or

¹ Modified, so far as "direct" income taxes are concerned, by the Sixteenth Amendment.

Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.¹

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]²

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not

¹ Additional prohibitions upon the States are contained in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments, just as certain additional prohibitions upon Congress are contained in Amendments 1-8.

² Superseded by Twelfth Amendment.

have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.¹

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.²

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: —

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices,³ and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior

¹ In 1792 Congress provided that the president pro tem of the Senate should be next in succession, and after him the Speaker of the House. In 1886 (Jan. 19), this law was supplanted by a new one placing the succession (after the Vice President) in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior. This provides securely against any break in the succession, and against a transfer by accident to an opposite political party.

² What is the antecedent of “them”? The salary of George Washington was fixed by the First Congress at \$25,000. This amount remained unchanged until 1871, when it was made \$50,000. In 1909 the salary was raised to \$75,000. Large allowances are made also, in these latter days, for expenses of various sorts, — one item of \$25,000, for instance, for traveling expenses, — which is the reason the salary is commonly referred to as \$100,000.

³ For the development of the “Cabinet,” see p. 224.

Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States shall be removed from office on Impeachment for, and conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanours.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; — to Controversies between two or more States; — between a State and Citizens of another State¹; — between Citizens of different States, — between Citizens of the same State claiming lands under Grants of different States, — and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have

¹ Limited by the Eleventh Amendment to cases begun by a State as plaintiff. It might have been well if that limitation had been included by the framers at the end of this paragraph.

been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.¹

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and immunities of Citizens in the several States.²

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the

¹ The last three paragraphs of this article are really part of a "bill of rights."

² Extended by Fourteenth Amendment.

Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and] that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

AMENDMENTS

[i]¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

[ii]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

¹ Originally, the first twelve amendments were not numbered in the official manuscripts.

[iii]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by Law.

[iv]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[v]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

[vi]

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

[vii]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

[viii]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

[ix]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

[x] ¹

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

[xi] (1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

[xii] (1804)

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

¹ The first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were recommended to the States by the first Congress and were ratified and in force by November, 1791.

xiii (1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

xiv (1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States: nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

xv (1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

xvi (1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

xvii (1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications required for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

xviii (1920)

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

xix (1920)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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